



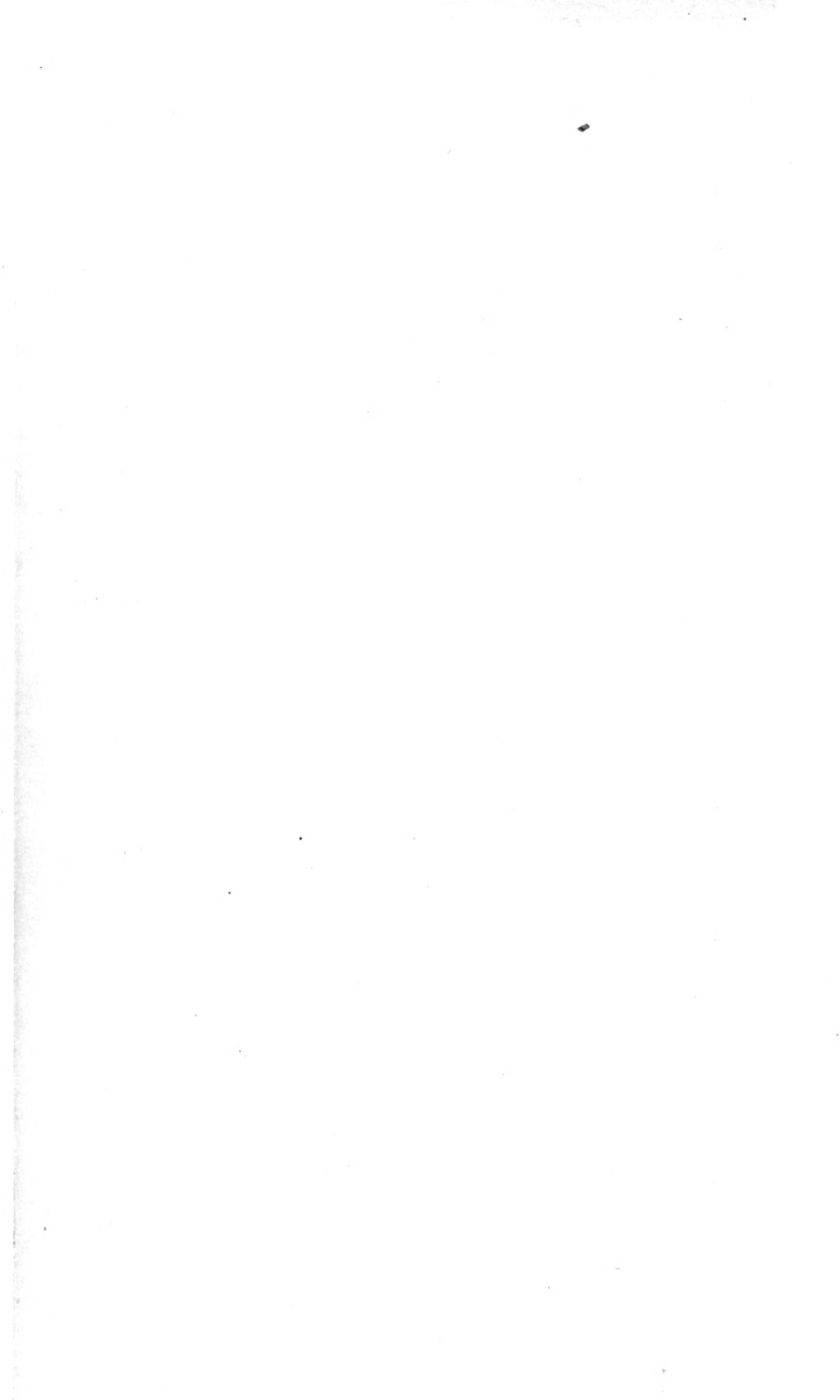
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PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

XIV

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THE SIMPLE COBLER  
OF  
AGGAWAM

BY

REV. NATHANIEL WARD

A REPRINT OF THE 4TH EDITION PUBLISHED IN 1647 WITH FACSIMILES  
OF TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, AND HEAD-LINES, AND  
THE EXACT TEXT  
AND AN ESSAY

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER

BY

THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS  
PRESIDENT OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 5, 1904

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70-2-P see p. 105

Ward, Nathaniel

THE  
SIMPLE COBLER  
OF  
AGGAVVAMM IN AMERICA.

WILLING  
To help mend his Native Country, la-  
mentably tattered, both in the upper-Leather  
and sole, with all the honest stitches he can take.

And as willing never to be paid for his work,  
by Old English wonted pay.

*It is his Trade to patch all the year long, gratis.*

Therefore I pray Gentlemen keep your purses.

By *Theodore de la Guard.*

*The Fourth Edition, with some Amendments.*

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*In rebus arduis ac tenui spe, fortissima  
quæque consilia tutissima sunt. Cic.*

In English,  
When bootes and shoes are torne up to the lefts,  
Coblers must thrust their awles up to the lefts.

This is no time to feare *Apoles gramm:*  
*Ne Sutor quidem ultra crepidam.*

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LONDON,  
Printed by J. D. & R. I. for Stephen Bowtell, at the signe of the  
Bible in Popes Head-Alley, 1647.

F74  
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v. 14

TO VIBU  
AMROFLAO



TO THE  
READER

Gentlemen,



*Pray make a little roome for a  
Cobler, his work was done in time,  
but a ship setting sayle one day  
too soon makes it appeare some  
weeks too late; Seeing hee is so  
reasonable as to demand no other  
pay for his labour and leather, but leave to pay us  
well for our faults, let it be well accepted, as Coun-  
sell in our occasions to come, and as Testimony to what  
is past,*

By a Friend.

TO CIVIL  
AIRBORNE



## SUTOR ULTRA CREPIDAM.



**W**HETHER I am in an Appoplexie, or that man is in a Lethargie, who doth not now sensibly feele God shaking the heavens over his head, and the earth under his feet: The Heavens so, as the Sun begins to turne into darknesse, the Moon into blood, the Starres to fall down to the ground; So that little Light of Comfort or Counsell is left to the sonnes of men: The Earth so, as the foundations are failing, the righteous scarce know where to finde rest, the inhabitants stagger like drunken men: it is in a manner dissolved both in Religions and Relations: And no marvell; for, they have defiled it by transgressing the Lawes, changing the Ordinances, and breaking the Everlasting Covenant. The Truths of God are the Pillars of the world, whereon States and Churches may stand quiet if they will; if they will not, Hee can easily shake them off into delusions, and distractions enough.

Sathan

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## The Simple Cobler of

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Sathan is now in his passions, he feels his passion approaching; hee loves to fish in royled waters. Though that Dragon cannot sting the vitals of the Elect mortally, yet that Beelzebub can fly-blow their Intellectuals miserably: The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs, hee will hold pace with Christ so long as his wits will serve him. Hee sees himselfe beaten out of grosse Idolatries, Heresies, Ceremonies, where the Light breakes forth with power; he will therefore bestirre him to prevaricate Evangelicall Truths, and Ordinances, that if they will needs be walking, yet they shall *laborare varicibus*, and not keep their path, he will put them out of time and place; Affaffinating for his Engineers, men of Paracelsian parts; well complexioned for honesty; for, such are fittest to Mountebanke his Chimiftry into sicke Churches and weake Judgements.

Nor shall hee need to stretch his strength overmuch in this worke: Too many men having not laid their foundations sure, nor ballasted their Spirits deepe with humility and feare, are prest enough of themselves to evaporate their owne apprehensions. Those that are acquainted with Story know, it hath ever beene so in new Editions of Churches: Such as are least able, are most busie to pudder in the rubbish, and to raise dust in the eyes of more steady Repayers. Civill Commotions make roome for uncivill practises: Religious mutations, for irreligious opinions: Change of Aire, discovers corrupt bodies; Reformation of Religion, unfound mindes. Hee that hath any well-faced phanfy in his Crowne, and doth  
not

not vent it now, fears the pride of his owne heart will dub him dunce for ever. Such a one will trouble the whole *Israel* of God with his most untimely births, though he makes the bones of his vanity sticke up, to the view and grieve of all that are godly wise. The devill defiers no better sport then to see light heads handle their heels, and fetch their carreers in a time, when the Roofe of Liberty stands open.

The next perplexed Question, with pious and ponderous men, will be: What should bee done for the healing of these comfortlesse exulcerations. I am the unabled adviser of a thousand, the unworthiest of ten thousand; yet I hope I may presume to asserf what follows without just offence.

First, such as have given or taken any unfriendly reports of us *New-English*, should doe well to recollect themselves. Wee have beene reputed a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wilderness to find elbow-roume for our phanaticke Doctrines and practises: I trust our diligence past, and constant sedulity against such persons and courses, will plead better things for us. I dare take upon me, to bee the Herauld of *New-England* so farre, as to proclaime to the world, in the name of our Colony, that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists, and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keepe away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better.

Secondly, I dare averre, that God doth no where in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Toleration to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to suppress them.

B

Here

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## The Simple Cobler of

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Here is lately brought us an Extract of a *Magna Charta*, so called, compiled between the Sub-planters of a *West-Indian* Island; whereof the first Article of constipulation, firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be. Wee are very sorry to see such professed prophaneness in *English* Professors, as industriously to lay their Religious foundations on the ruine of true Religion; which strictly binds every conscience to contend earnestly for the Truth: to preserve unity of spirit, Faith and Ordinances, to be all like minded, of one accord; every man to take his brother into his Christian care: to stand fast with one spirit, with one mind, striving together for the faith of the Gospel. and by no meanes to permit Heresies or erroneous opinions: But God abhorring such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize, which might otherwise have prospered well, for ought I know; I presume their case is generally knowne ere this.

If the devill might have his free option, I beleve he would ask nothing else, but liberty to enfranchize all false Religions, and to embondage the true; nor should hee need: It is much to be feared, that laxe Tolerations upon State-pretences and planting necessities, will be the next subtle Stratagem he will spread to distate the Truth of God and supplant the peace of the Churches. Tolerations in things tolerable, exquisitely drawn out by the lines of the Scripture, and penfill of the Spirit, are the sacred favours of Truth,  
the



the due latitudes of Love, the faire Compartiments of Christian fraternity: but irregular dispensations, dealt forth by the facilities of men, are the frontiers of error, the redoubts of Schisme, the perillous irritaments of carnall and spirituall enmity.

My heart hath naturally detested foure things: The itanding of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alchymized coines; Tolerations of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes: He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an Atheist, or an Heretique, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some Lust: Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world. True Religion is *Ignis probationis*, which doth *congregare homogenea & segregare heterogenea*.

Not to tolerate things meerly indifferent to weak consciences, argues a conscience too strong: pressed uniformity in these, causes much difunity: To tolerate more then indifferents, is not to deale indifferently with God: He that doth it, takes his Scepter out of his hand, and bids him stand by. Who hath to doe to institute Religion but God. The power of all Religion and Ordinances, lies in their purity: their purity in their simplicity: then are mixtures pernicious. J lived in a City, where a Papist preached in one Church, a Lutheran in another, a Calvinist in a third; a Lutheran one part of the day, a Calvinist the other, in the same Pulpit: the Religion of that place was but motly and meagre, their affections Leopard-like.

If the whole Creature should conspire to doe the

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## The Simple Cobler of

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Creator a mischief, or offer him an insolency, it would be in nothing more, than in erecting untruths against his Truth, or by sophisticating his Truths with humane medleyes: the removing of some one jota in Scripture, may draw out all the life, and traverse all the Truth of the whole Bible: but to authorise an untruth, by a Toleration of State, is to build a Sconce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his Chaire: To tell a practicall lye, is a great sin, but yet transient; but to set up a Theoricall untruth, is to warrant every lye that lyes from its root to the top of every branch it hath, which are not a few.

I would willingly hope that no Member of the Parliament hath skilfully ingratiated himselfe into the hearts of the House, that he might watch a time to midwife out some ungracious Toleration for his own turne, and for the sake of that, some other, I would also hope that a word of generall caution should not be particularly misapplied. I am the freer to suggest it, because I know not one man of that mind, my aime is generall, and I desire may be so accepted. Yet good Gentlemen, look well about you, and remember how *Tiberius* play'd the Fox with the Senate of *Rome*, and how *Fabius Maximus* cropt his ears for his cunning.

That State is wise, that will improve all paines and patience rather to compose, then tolerate differences in Religion. There is no divine Truth, but hath much Cœlestiall fire in it from the Spirit of Truth: nor no irreligious untruth, without its proportion of Antifire from the spirit of Error to contradict it: the zeale of the one, the virulency of the other, must necessarily kindle Combustions. Fiery diseases seated in the  
spirit,

spirit, imbroile the whole frame of the body: others more externall and coole, are lesse dangerous. They which divide in Religion, divide in God; they who divide <sup>r</sup><sub>in</sub> him, divide beyond *Genus Generalissimum*, where there is no reconciliation, without atonement; that is, without uniting in him, who is One, and in his Truth, which is also one.

Wife are those men who will be perswaded rather to live within the pale of Truth where they may bee quiet, than in the purlieves, where they are sure to be hunted ever & anon, do Authority what it can. Every singular Opinion, hath'a singular opinion'of it self; and he that holds it a singular opinion of himself, & a simple opinion of all contra-sentients: he that confutes them, must confute al three at once, or else he does nothing; which will not be done without more stir than the peace of the State or Church can indure.

And prudent are those Christians, that will rather give what may be given, then hazard all by yeelding nothing. To sell all peace of Country, to buy some peace of conscience unseasonably, is more avarice than thrift, imprudence than patience: they deal not equally, that set any Truth of God at such a rate; but they deal wisely that will stay till the Market is fallen.

My prognosticks deceive me not a little, if once within three seaven years, peace prove not such a penny-worth at most Marts in Christendome, that hee that would not lay down his money, his lust, his opinion, his will, I had almost said the best flower of his Crowne for it, while he might have had it; will tell his own heart, he plaid the very ill husband.

Concerning Tolerations I may further assert.

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## The Simple Cobler of

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That Persecution of true Religion, and Toleration of false, are the *Jannes* and *Jambres* to the Kingdome of Christ, whereof the last is farre the worst. *Augustines* tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though he had never spake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi.*

*Frederick* Duke of *Saxon*, spake not one foote beyond the mark when he said. He had rather the Earth should swallow him up quick, then he should give a toleration to any opinion against any truth of God.

He that is willing to tolerate any Religion, or discrepant way of Religion, besides his own, unless it be in matters meerly indifferent, either doubts of his own, or is not sincere in it.

He that is willing to tolerate any unsound Opinion, that his own may also be tolerated, though never so found, will for a need hang Gods Bible at the Devils girdle.

Every Toleration of false Religions, or Opinions hath as many Errours and sins in it, as all the false Religions and Opinions it tolerats, and one found one more.

That State that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Morall Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of tune, and some of the strings crack.

He that will rather make an irreligious quarell with other Religions then try the Truth of his own by valuable Arguments, and peaceable Sufferings; either his Religion, or himselfe is irreligious.

Experience will teach Churches and Christians,  
that

that it is farre better to live in a State united, though a little Corrupt, then in a State, whereof some Part is incorrupt, and all the rest divided.

I am not altogether ignorant of the eight Rules given by Orthodox divines about giving Tolerations, yet with their favour I dare affirme,

That there is no Rule given by God for any State to give an affirmative Toleration to any false Religion, or Opinion whatsoever; they must connive in some Cafes, but may not concede in any.

That the State of *England* (so farre as my Intelligence serves) might in time have prevented with ease and may yet without any great difficultie deny both Toleration, and irregular connivences *salva Republica*.

That if the State of *England* shall either willingly Tolerate, or weakly connive at such Courses, the Church of that Kingdome will sooner become the Devils dancing-Schoole, then Gods Temple: The Civill State a Beare-garden, then an Exchange: The whole Realme a Pais base then an *England*. And what pity it is, that that Country which hath been the Staple of Truth to all Christendome, should now become the Aviary of Errors to the whole world, let every fearing heart judge.

I take Liberty of Conscience to be nothing but a freedome from sinne, and error. *Conscientia in tantum libera, in quantum ab errore liberata*. And Liberty of Errour nothing but a Prison for Conscience. Then small will be the kindnesse of a State to build such Prisons for their Subjects.

The Scripture saith, there is nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth saith, there is no Truth but one:

If

If the States of the World would make it their fumm-  
 operous Care to preserve this One Truth in its purity  
 and Authority it would ease you of all other Politi-  
 call cares. I am fure Sathan makes it his grand, if not  
 only taske, to adulterate Truth; Falfhood is his sole  
 Scepter, whereby he first ruffled, and ever since ruined  
 the World.

If Truth be but One, me thinks all the Opinionists  
 in *England* should not be all in that One Truth, some  
 of them I doubt are out. He that can extract an unity  
 out of such a disparity, or contract such a disparity in-  
 to an unity; had need be a better Artift, then ever was  
*Drebell*.

If two Centers (as we may suppose) be in one Cir-  
 cle, and lines drawn from both to all the points of the  
 Compasse, they will certainly croffe one another, and  
 probably cut through the Centers themselves.

There is talk of an univerfall Toleration, I would  
 talke as loud as I could against it, did I know what  
 more apt and reasonable Sacrifice *England* could offer  
 to God for his late performing all his heavenly Truths  
 then an univerfall Toleration of all hellish Errors, or  
 how they shall make an univerfall Reformation, but  
 by making Christs Academy the Divills Univerfity,  
 where any man may commence Heretique *per saltum*;  
 where he that is *filius Diabolicus*, or *simpliciter pes-  
 simus*, may have his grace to goe to Hell *cum Publico  
 Privilegio*; and carry as many after him, as he can.

*Religio docenda est, non coercenda* is a pretty piece of  
*album Latinum* for some kinde of throats that are wil-  
 lingly fore, but *Hæresis dedocenda est non permittenda*,  
 will be found a farre better *Diamoron* for the Gar-  
 garifmes

garifmes this Age wants, if timely and throughly applied.

If there be roome in *England* for

<p><i>Familists</i>  <i>Libertines</i>  <i>Eraſtians</i>  <i>Antitrinitarians</i>  <i>Anabaptiſts</i>  <i>Antiſcripturiſts</i>  <i>Arminians</i>  <i>Manifestarians</i>  <i>Millinaries</i>  <i>Antinomians</i>  <i>Socinians</i>  <i>Arrians</i>  <i>Perſectiſts</i>  <i>Browniſts</i> *  <i>Mortalians</i>  <i>Seekers</i>  <i>Enthuſiaſts,</i>  <i>&amp;c.</i></p>	<p>} the rom for }</p>	<p><i>Manes</i>  <i>Lemures</i>  <i>Dryades</i>  <i>Homadryades</i>  <i>Potamides</i>  <i>Naiades</i>  <i>Hinnides</i>  <i>Pierides</i>  <i>Nereides</i>  <i>Pales</i>  <i>Anonides</i>  <i>Parcades</i>  <i>Caſtalides</i>  <i>Monides</i>  <i>Charites</i>  <i>Heliconides</i>  <i>Pegafides.</i>  <i>&amp;c.</i></p>
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Good Spi-  
rits, but ve-  
ry Devils.

\* By Browniſts  
I mean not In-  
dependents, be-  
dew-clawd Se-  
peratiſts: far  
be it from me  
to wrong godly  
Independents  
I truly ac-  
knowledge  
that I judge  
my ſelf neither  
able nor wor-  
thy to honour  
ſome of them  
as they deſerve

In a word room for Hell above ground.

It is ſaid, Though a man have light enough himſelfe to ſee the Truth, yet if he hath not enough to enlighten others, he is bound to tolerate them, I will engage my ſelf, that all the Devils in *Britanie* ſhall ſell themſelves to their ſhirts, to purchaſe a Leaſe of this Poſi-  
C
tion

tion for three of their Lives, under the Seale of the Parliament.

It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the univerfall Ideot of the world.

It is said, That Civill Magistrates ought not to meddle with Ecclesiasticall matters.

I would answer to this so well as I could, did I not know that some papers lately brought out of *New-England*, are going to the Presse, wherein the Opinions of the Elders there in a late Synod, concerning this point are manifested, which I suppose will give clearer satisfaction then I can.

The true English of all this their false Latine, is nothing but a generall Toleration of all Opinions; which motion if it be like to take, it were very requisite, that the City would repaire *Pauls* with all the speed they can, for an English *Pantheon*, and bestow it upon the Sectaries, freely to assemble in, then there may be some hope that *London* will be quiet in time.

But why dwell I so intolerable long about Tolerations, I hope my fears are but panick, against which I have a double cordiall. First, that the Parliament will not though they could: Secondly, that they cannot though they would grant such Tolerations. God who hath so honoured them with eminent wisdom  
in



in all other things, will not suffer them to cast both his, and their Honour in the dust of perpetuall Infamy, doe what they can; nor shall those who have spent so great a part of their substance in redeeming their Civill Liberties from Ufurpation, lose all that remains in enthralling their spirituall Liberty by Toleration.

It is said Opinionists are many, and strong, that *de sunt Vires*, that it is *turbata respublica*, I am very sorry for it, but more sorry, if despondency of minde shall cause the least tergiversation in Gods Worthies, who have receiv'd such pledges of his presence in their late Counsels, and Conflicts. It is not thousands of Opinionists that can pinion his Everlasting armes, I can hardly beleieve there is a greater unbeleever then my Selfe, yet I can verily beleieve that the God of Truth will in a short time scatter them all like smoake before the wind. I confesse I am troubled to see Men so over-troubled about them; I am rather glad to heare the Devill is breaking up house in *England*, and removing somewhither else, give him leave to sell all his rags, and odde-ends by the out-cry; and let his petty Chapmen make their Market while they may, upon my poore credit it will not last long. Hee that hath done so much for *England* will go on to perfect his owne praise, and his Peoples Peace: Let good men stand still, and behold his further Salvation. He that sitteth in the Heavens laughs at them, the most High hath them in Derision, and their folly shall certainly be manifested to all men.

Yet I dare not but adde, and in the Name of God will adde, that if any Publique members of Church or  
 C 2 State,

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## The Simple Cobler of

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State, have been either open fautors, or private abettors of any blasphemous, contagious Opinions, It will be their wisdom to proportion their repentance to their Sin, before God makes them Publique monuments of Ignominie, and Apostasie.

Thirdly, That all Christian States, ought to disavow and decry all such Errors, by some peremptory Statutory Act, and that in time, that Subjects knowing fully the minde of the State, might not delude themselves with vaine hopes of unfufferable Liberties. It is lesse to say, *Statuatur veritas, ruat Regnum*, than *Fiat justitia, ruat Cælum*; but there is no such danger in either of them. Feare nothing Gentlemen, *Rubiconem transiistis, jacta est alea*, ye have turned the Devill out of doores; fling all his old parrell after him out at the windows, lest he makes another errand for it againe. *Quæ relinquuntur in morbis post indicationem, recidivas facere consuevere*. Christ would have his Church without spot or wrinkle; They that help make it so, shall lose neither honour nor labour: If yee be wise, suffer no more thorns in his sides or your owne. When God kindles such fires as these, hee doth not usually quench them, till the very scum on the pot sides be boyled cleane away, *Ezek. 24. 10, 11*. Yee were better to doe it your selves, than leave it to him: the Arme of the Lord is mighty, his hand very heavy; who can dwell with his devouring fire, and long lasting burnings?

Fourthly, to make speedy provision against Obstinates and Diffeminaries: where under favour, two things will be found requisite. First, variety of penalties, I meane certaine, not indefinite: I am a  
Crabbat

Crabbat againſt Arbitrary Government. Experience hath taught us here, that politicall, domeſticall, and perſonall reſpects, will not admit one and the ſame remedy for all, without ſad inconveniences. Secondly, juſt ſeverity: perfecution hath ever ſpread Truth, proſecution ſcattered Errour: Ten of the moſt Chriſtian Emperors, found that way beſt; Schollars know whom I meane: Five of the ancient Fathers perſwaded to it, of whom *Auguſtine* was one, who for a time argued hard for indulgency: but upon conference with other prudent Biſhops, altered his judgement, as appears in three of his Epiftles, to *Marcellinus*, *Donatus*, and *Boniſface*. I would be underſtood, not onely an Allower, but an humble Petitioner, that ignorant and tender conſcienced Anabaptiſts may have due time and means of conviction.

Fifthly, That every Prophet, to whom God hath given the tongue of the learned, ſhould teach, and every Angel who hath a pen and inkehorne by his ſide write againſt theſe grievous extravagancies: writing of many books, I grant is irkeſome, reading endleſſe. A reaſonable man would thinke Divines had declaimed ſufficiently upon theſe Themes. I have ever thought the Rule given, *Titus* 3. 10. which cuts the work ſhort and ſharpe to be more properly prevalent, then wearifome waiting upon unweariable Spirits. It is a moſt toylſome taſke to run the wild-gooſe chafe after a well-breath'd Opinioniſt: they delight in vitilitigation: it is an itch that loves aliſe to be ſcrub'd: they deſire not ſatiſfaction, but ſatiſdiction, whereof themſelves muſt be judges: yet in new eruptions of Error with new objections, ſilence is ſinfull.

As for my self, I am none of the disputers of this world: all I can doe, is to gueffe when men speak true or false Divinity: if I can but finde the parentall root, or formall reason of a Truth, I am quiet; if I cannot, I shore up my slender judgement as long as I can, with two or three the handfomest props I can get: I shall therefore leave Arguments to acuter heads, and onely speak a word of Love, with all Christian respect to our deare Brethren in *England*, which are against Baptizing of Infants: I intreate them to consider these few things seriously and meekly. Firſt, what a high pitch of boldneſſe it is for man to cut a principall Ordinance out of the Kingdome of God; If it be but to make a diflocation, which ſo far difgoods the Ordinance, I feare it altogether unhallows it, to tranſplace or tranſtime a ſtated Inſtitution of Chriſt, without his direction, I thinke, is to deſtroy it. Secondly, what a Cruelty it is to deſt Children of that onely externall priviledge which their heavenly Father hath bequeathed them to intereſt them viſibly in Himſelfe, His Son, His Spirit, His Covenant of Grace, and the tender boſome of their carefull Mother the Church. Thirdly, what an Inhumanity it is, to deprive Parents of that comfort they may take from the baptiſme of their Infants dying in their Childehood. Fourthly, How unreaſonable and unkindly it is, to interturbe the State and Church with theſe Amalekitiſh on-ſets, when they are in their extreame pains of travell with their lives. Fifthly, to take a through view of thoſe who have preambled this by path. Being ſometimes in the Crowds of foraigne Wederdopers, that is,  
Ana-

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Anabaptists; and prying into their inward frames with the best eyes I had; I could not but observe these disguised guises in the generality of them.

First, a flat formality of Spirit without salt or favour in the spiritualities of Christ, as if their Religion began and ended in their Opinion. Secondly, a shallow flighting of such as dissent from them, appearing too often in their faces, speeches and carriage. Thirdly, a feeble, yet peremptory obstinacy; seldom are any of them reclaimed. Fourthly, a shameful sliding into other such tarpauling tenets, to keep themselves dry from the showers of Justice, as a rational mind would never entertain, if it were not Error-blasted from Heaven and Hell. I should as shrewdly suspect that Opinion, that will cordially corrive with two or three sottish errors, as that faith that can professedly live with two or three sordid sins. I dare not feare our godly Brethren in *England* to be yet coming to this passe; how soon they may, themselves know not, the times are slippery: They will undoubtedly finde God as jealous of his Ordinances, as themselves are zealous of their Opinions.

Sixthly, that Authority ought to see their Subjects children baptized, though their Parents judgements be against it, if there be no other Evangelicall barre in the way.

Seventhly, that prudent men, especially young, should doe well not to ingage themselves in conference with Errorists, without a good calling and great caution; their breath is contagious, their leprey spreading: receive not him that is weak, saith the Apostle to doubtfull disputations; much lesse may they run,  
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## The Simple Cobler of

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themselves into dangerous Sophistications. He usually hears best in their meetings, that stops his ears clofely; he opens his mouth to best purpose, that keeps it shut, and he doth best of all, that declines their company as wisely as he may.

Brethren, have an extraordinary care also of the late Theosophers, that teach men to climbe to heaven upon a ladder of lying figments. Rather then the devill will lose his game, he will out-shoot Christ in his owne bow; he will out-law the Law, quite out of the word and world: over-Gospell the Gospell, and quidanye Christ, with Sugar and Rats-bane. Hee was Professour not long since at *Schlestat* in *Alsatia*, where he learned, that no poyson is so deadly as the poyson of Grace.

The wisest way, when all is said, is with all humility and feare, to take Christ as himselfe hath revealed himselfe in his Gospel, and not as the Devill presents him to prestigiated fantasies. I have ever hated the way of the Rosie-Crucians, who reject things as Gods wisdom hath tempered them, and will have nothing but their Spirits. If I were to give physick to Sprys, I would do so too: but when I want Physick for my body, I would not have my soule tartared: nor my Animall Spirits purged any way, but by my Naturall, and those by my bodily humours, and those by such Ordinaries, as have the nearest vicinage to them, and not by Metaphysicall Limbeckings. I cannot thinke that *materia prima* or *secunda*, should bee good for me, that am at least, *Materia millesima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta*.

Here I hold my selfe bound to set up a Beacon, to  
give

give warning of a new-fprung Sect of phrantasticks, which would perswade themselves and others, that they have discovered the Nor-west passage to Heaven. These wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners such bold ignotions of a new Gospell, new Chrif, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unfetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God. I desire all good men may be saved from their Lunatick Creed, by Infidelity; and rather beleve these torrid overtures will prove in time, nothing but horrid raptures downe to the lowest hell, from which he that would be delivered, let him avoid these blasphemers, a late fry of croaking Frogs, not to be indured in a Religious State, no, if it were possible, not an houre.

As some are playing young Spaniels, questing at every bird that rises; so others, held very good men, are at a dead stand, not knowing what to doe or say; and are therefore called Seekers, looking for new Nuntio's from Chrif, to affoile these benighted questions, and to give new Orders for new Churches. I crave leave with all respect to tell them, that if they looke into *Act. 20. 20. 25. Gal. 1. 8. 9. 1 Tim. 6. 13. 16.* and finde them not there; they may happily seek as the young Prophets did for *Elijah's* corps, where it never was, nor ever will be found.

I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give *Timothie* the solemnest charge, was ever given mortall man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Chrif, if new things must be expected.

Woe be to them, who ever they be, that so trouble the wayes of God that they who have found the way

to heaven cannot find the way to Church: And woe be to them, that so gaze at the glorious light, they say, will breake forth in the thousand yeares to come, that they make little of the gracious Truth that hath been revealed these sixteen hundred years past. And woe be to them that so under-value the first Master Builders, I mean the Apostles of Christ, that unlesse he sends wiser than they, He must be accounted lesse faithfull in his house than *Moses* was.

I have cause enough to be as charitable to others as any man living; yet I cannot but feare, that those men never Moored their Anchors well in the firme foile of Heaven; that are weather-waft up and down with every eddy-wind of every new doctrine. The good Spirit of God doth not usually tie up the Helme, and suffer passengers to heaven to ride a drift, hither and thither, as every wave and current carries them: that is a fitter course for such as the Apostle calls wandring Starrs and Meteors, without any certaine motion, hurried about with tempests, bred of the Exhalations of their owne pride and selfe-wittednesse: whose damnation fleepeth not, and to whom the mist of darknesse is reserved for ever, that they may suffer irreparable shipwrack upon the Sands and Rocks of their owne Errors, being of old ordained to condemnation.

Eightly, let all considerate men beware of ungrounded opinions in Religion: Since I knew what to feare, my heart hath dreaded three things: a blazing starre appearing in the aire: a State Comet, I meane a favourite rising in a Kingdome, a new Opinion spreading in Religion: these are Exorbitancies:  
 which



which is a formidable word; a *vacuum* and an exorbitancy, are mundicidious evils, Concerning Novelties of opinions; I shall expresse my thoughts in these briefe passages. Firft, that Truth is the best boone God ever gave the world: there is nothing in the world, world, any further then Truth makes it fo, it is better then any creat' *Ens* or *Bonum*, which are but Truths twins. Secondly, the least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; Take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conferved by an Arme of superiordinary power. Thirdly, the least Evangelicall Truth is more worth than all the Civill Truths in the world, that are meerly fo. Fourthly, that Truth is the Parent of all liberty whether politicall or personall; fo much untruth, fo much thraldome, *Ioh.* 8. 32.

Hence it is, that God is fo jealous of his Truths, that he hath taken order in his due justice: Firft, that no practicall fin is fo finfull as some errour in judgement; no man fo accursed with indelible infamy and dedolent impenitency, as Authors of Heresie. Secondly, that the least Error, if grown sturdy and pressed, shall fet open the Spittle-doore of all the squint-eyd', wry-necked, and brafen-faced Errors that are or ever were of that litter; if they be not enough to serve its turne, it will beget more, though it hath not one cruff of reason to maintain them. Thridly, that that State which will permit Errors in Religion, shall admit Errors in Policy unavoidably. Fourthly, that that Policy which will suffer irreligious errors, shall suffer the

loffe of fo much Liberty in one kind or other, I will not exempt *Venice, Rhagufe, the Cantons, the Netherlands,* or any.

An eafie head may foon demonftrate, that the pre-mentioned Planters, by Tolerating all Religions, had immazed themfelves in the moft intolerable confufions and inextricable thraldomes the world ever heard of. I am perfwaded the Devill himfelfe was never willing with their proceedings, for feare it would breake his wind and wits to attend fuch a Province. I fpeak it ferioufly, according to my meaning. How all Religions fhould enjoy their liberty, Juftice its due regularity, Civill cohabitation morall honefty, in one and the fame Jurifdiction, is beyond the Attique of my comprehension. If the whole conclave of Hell can fo compromife, exadverfe, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize fuch a multimonftrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I truft I may fay with all humble reverence, they can do more then the Senate of Heaven. My *modus loquendi* pardoned; I intirely wifh much welfare and more wifdom to that Plantation.

It is greatly to be lamented, to obferve the wanton fearleffeneffe of this Age, efpecially of younger profefors, to greet new opinions and Opinionifts: as if former truths were growne fuperannuate, and fapleffe, if not altogether antiquate. *Non fenefcet veritas.* No man ever faw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle, or morpew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long. Hee that cannot folace himfelfe with any faving truth, as affectionately as at the firft acquaintance with it,  
hath

hath not only a fastidious, but an adulterous heart.

If all be true we heare, Never was any people under the Sun, so sick of new opinions as *English-men*; nor of new fashions as *English-women*: If God helpe not the one, and the devill leave not helping the other, a blind man may easly foresee what will become of both. I have spoken what I intend for the present to men; I shall speak a word to the women anon: in the mean time I intreat them to prepare patience.

Ninthly, that godly humble Christians ought not to wonder impatiently at the wonderfull workes of God in these times: it is full Season for him to worke Sovereign worke, to vindicate his Sovereignty, that men may feare before him. States are unfated, Rulers growne Over-rulers, Subjects worfe then men, Churches-decayed. Tofts, Professors, empty casks filled with unholy humours; I speake not of all, but too many; I condemne not the generation of the just God hath his remnant, whom he will carefully preserve. If it bee time for men to take up Defensive Arms against such as are called Gods, upon the point of *Salus populi*, it is high time for him that is God indeed, to draw his Sword against wormes and no men, upon the point of *Majestas imperii*: The piercing of his Sword shall discover the thoughts of many hearts.

Lastly, I dare averre, that it ill becomes Christians any thing well-shod with the preparation of the Gospel, to meditate flight from their deare Countrey upon these disturbances. Stand your grounds ye *Eleazars* and *Shammahs*, stir not a foot so long as you have halfe a foot of ground to stand upon: after one or

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two such Worthies, a great Victory may be regained, and flying *Israel* may returne to a rich spoile. *Englishmen*, be advised to love *England*, with your hearts and to preserve it by your Prayers. I am bold to say that since the pure Primitive time, the Gospel never thrived so well in any soile on earth, as in the *Brittish*, nor is the like goodnesse of nature, or Cornucopian plenty else-where to be found: if ye lose that Country and finde a better before ye come to Heaven, my Cosmography failes me. I am farre from discouraging any, whom necessity of Conscience or condition thrusts out by head and shoulders: if God calls any into a Wildernesse, Hee will be noe wildernesse to them, *Jer. 2. 31.* witnesse his large beneficence to us here beyond expectation.

Ye say, why come not we over to helpe the Lord against the Mighty, in these Sacred battailes:

I answer, many here are diligently observing the counsell of the same Prophet, *22. 10.* *Weepe not for him that is dead, neither bemoan him; but weep for him that is gone away and shall returne no more to see his Native Country.* Divers make it an Article of our *American* Creed, which a celebrate Divine of *England* hath observed upon *Heb. 11. 9.* That no man ought to forsake his owne countrey, but upon extraordinary cause, and when that cause ceaseth, he is bound in conscience to returne if he can: We are looking to him who hath our hopes and seasons in his only wife hand.

In the mean time we desire to bow our knees before the Throne of Grace day and night, that the Lord would be pleased in his tender mercy to still the sad unquietnesse and per-peracute contentions, of that  
 most

most comfortable and renowned Island, that at length He may have praise in his Churches, and his Churches peace in him, through Jesus Christ.

**S**hould I not keepe promise in speaking a little to Womens fashions, they would take it unkindly: I was loath to pester better matter with such stuffe; I rather thought it meet to let them stand by themselves, like the *Quæ Genus* in the Grammer, being Deficients, or Redundants, not to be brought under any Rule: I shall therefore make bold for this once, to borrow a little of their loose tongued Liberty, and mispend a word or two upon their long-waisted, but short-skirted patience: a little use of my stirrup will doe no harme.

*Ridentem dicere verum, quid prohibet?*

*Gray Gravity it selfe can well beteam,  
That Language be adapted to the Theme.  
He that to Parrots speaks, must parrotise:  
He that instructs a foole, may act th'unwise.*

It is known more then enough, that I am neither Nigard, nor Cinick, to the due bravery of the true Gentry: if any man mislikes a bullymong droffock more then I, let him take her for his labour: I honour the woman that can honour her selfe with her attire: a good Text alwayes deserves a fair Margent; I am not much offended, if I see a trimme, far trimmer than she that weares it: in a word, whatever Christianity or Civility will allow, I can afford with *London* measure:

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ture: but when I heare a nugiperous Gentledame inquire what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudiuftertian fashon of the Court; with egge to be in it in all hafte, whatever it be; I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kickt, if fhee were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd.

To fpeak moderately, I truly confesse it is beyond the ken of my understanding to conceive, how those women should have any true grace, or valuable vertue, that have fo little wit, as to diffigure themselves with fuch exotick garbes, as not only difmantles their native lovely luftre, but tranfclouts them into gantbar-geefe, ill-fhapen-fhotten-fhell-fifh, Egyptian Hye-roglyphicks, or at the best into French flurts of the paffery, which a proper Englifh woman should fcorne with her heels: it is no marvell they weare drailes on the hinder part of their heads, having nothing as it feems in the fore-part, but a few Squirrils brains to help them frisk from one ill-favour'd fashon to another.

*The fewhimm' Crown'd fhees, thefe fashon-fanfying wits,  
Are empty thin brain'd shells, and fidling Kits.*

The very troublers and impoverifhers of mankind, I can hardly forbear to commend to the world a fay-  
ing of a Lady living fometime with the Queen of *Bo-  
hemia*, I know not where fhee found it, but it is pittie  
it should be loft.

*The world is full of care, much like unto a bubble;  
women*

*Women and care, and care and women, and women and  
(care and trouble.*

The Verfes are even enough for fuch odde pegma's I can make my felfe ficke at any time, with comparing the dazling fplendor wherewith our Gentlewomen were imbellifhed in fome former habits, with the gut-foundred goofdom, wherewith they are now furcingle and debauched. Wee have about five or fix of them in our Colony: if I fee any of them accidentally, I cannot cleanie my phanfie of them for a moneth after. I have been a folitary widdower almoft twelve yeares, purpofed lately to make a ftep over to my Native Country for a yoke-fellow: but when I confider how women there have tripe-wifed themfelves with their cladments, I have no heart to the voyage, leaft their naufeous fhapes and the Sea, fhould work too forely upon my ftomach. I fpeak fadly; me thinks it fhould breake the hearts of Englifh-men, to fee fo many goodly Englifh-women imprifoned in French Cages, peering out of their hood-holes for fome men of mercy to help them with a little wit, and no body relieves them.

It is a more common then convenient faying, that nine Taylors make a man: it were well if nineteene could make a woman to her minde: if Taylors were men indeed, well furnifhed but with meer morall principles, they would difdain to be led about like Apes, by fuch mymick Marmofets. It is a moft unworthy thing, for men that have bones in them, to fpend their lives in making fidle-cafes for futulous womens phanfies; which are the very pettitoes of Infirmity, the  
E giblets

giblets of perquifquilian toys. I am fo charitable to think, that moft of that myftery would worke the cheerfuller while they live, if they might bee well difcharged of the tiring flavery of mif-tiring women: it is no little labour to be continually putting up Englifh-women into Out-landifh caskes; who if they be not fhifted anew, once in a few months, grow too fowre for their Husbands. What this Trade will anfwer for themfelves when God fhall take meafure of Taylors confciences is beyond my skill to imagine. There was a time when

*The joyning of the Red-Rofe with the White,  
Did fet our State into a Damask plight.*

But now our Rofes are turned to *Flore de lices*, our Carnations to Tulips, our Gilliflowers to Dayzes, our City-Dames, to an indenominable Quæmalry of overturcaf'd things. Hee that makes Coates for the Moone, had need to take meafure every noone: and he that makes for women, as often, to keepe them from Lunacy.

I have often heard divers Ladies vent loud feminine complaints of the wearifome varieties and chargeable changes of fafhions: I marvell themfelves prefferre not a Bill of redrefse. [I would *Effex* Ladies would lead the *Chore*, for the honour of their County and perfons; or rather the thrice honorable Ladies of the Court, whom it beft beefemes: who may wel perfume of a *Le Roy le veult* from our fober King, a *Les Seigneurs ont affentus* from our prudent Peers, and the like *Affentus*, from our confiderate, I dare not  
fay

All the Counties and Shires of England have had wars in them fince the Conquest, but Effex, which is onely free, and fhould be thankfull.



say wife-worne Commons: who I beleve had much rather passe one such Bill, than pay so many Taylors Bills as they are forced to doe.

Most deare and unparallel'd Ladies, be pleased to attempt it: as you have the precellency of the women of the world for beauty and feature; so assume the honour to give, and not take Law from any, in matter of attire: if ye can transact so faire a motion among your selves unanimoufly, I dare say, they that most re-nite, will least repent. What greater honour can your Honors desire, then to build a Promontory president to all foraigne Ladies, to deserve so eminently at the hands of all the English Gentry present and to come: and to confute the opinion of all the wise men in the world; who never thought it possible for women to doe so good a work?

If any man think I have spoken rather merrily than seriously he is much mistaken, I have written what I write with all the indignation I can, and no more then I ought. I confesse I veer'd my tongue to this kinde of Language *de industria* though unwillingly, supposing those I speak to are incapable of grave and rati-onall arguments.

I desire all Ladies and Gentlewomen to understand that all this while I intend not such as through necessary modesty to avoyd morose singularity, follow fashions slowly, a flight shot or two off, shewing by their moderation, that they rather draw countermont with their hearts, then put on by their examples.

I point my pen only against the light-heel'd beagles that lead the chafe so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which

invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty fake.

In a word, if I begin once to declaime againft fashions, let men and women look well about them, there is fomewhat in the bufineffe; I confesse to the world, I never had grace enough to be ftrict in that kinde; and of late years, I have found fyrrope of pride very wholefome in a due *Dos*, which makes mee keep fuch ftore of that drugge by me, that if any body comes to me for a queftion-full or two about fashions, they never complain of me for giving them hard meafure, or under-weight.

But I addrefse my felf to thofe who can both hear and mend all if they please: I ferioufly fear, if the pious Parliament doe not find a time to ftate fashions, as ancient Parliaments have done in part, God will hardly finde a time to ftate Religion or Peace: They are the furquedryes of pride, the wantonneffe of idleneffe, provoking fins, the certain prodromies of affured judgement, *Zeph.* 1. 7, 8.

It is beyond all account, how many Gentlemens and Citizens eftates are deplumed by their feather-headed wives, what usefull fupplies the pannage of *England* would afford other Countries, what rich returns to it felfe, if it were not flic'd out into male and female fripperies: and what a multitude of mif-employ'd hands, might be better improv'd in fome more manly Manufactures for the publique weale: it is not eafily credible, what may be faid of the preterpluralities of Taylors in *London*: I have heard an honeft man fay, that not long fince there were numbered between *Temple-barre* and *Charing-Crosse*, eight thou-  
fand

fand of that Trade: let it be conjectured by that proportion how many there are in and about *London*, and in all *England*, they will appeare to be very numerous. If the Parliament would please to mend women, which their Husbands dare not doe, there need not so many men to make and mend as there are. I hope the present dolefull estate of the Realme, will perswade more strongly to some considerate course herein, than I now can.

Knew I how to bring it in, I would speake a word to long haire, whereof I will say no more but this: if God proves not such a Barbor to it as he threatens, unlesse it be amended, *Esa.* 7. 20. before the Peace of the State and Church be well settled, then let my prophesie be scorned, as a sound minde scornes the ryot of that sin, and more it needs not. If those who are tearmed Rattle-heads and Impuritans would take up a Resolution to begin in moderation of haire, to the just reproach of those that are called Puritans and Round-heads, I would honour their manlineffe, as much as the others godlineffe, so long as I knew what man or honour meant: if neither can finde a Barbour's shop, let them turne in, to *Psal.* 68.21. *Jer.* 7.29. *1 Cor.* 11.14. if it be thought no wisdome in men to distinguish themselves in the field by the Sciffers, let it be thought no Injustice in God, not to distinguish them by the Sword. I had rather God should know me by my sobriety, than mine enemy not know me by my vanity. He is ill kept, that is kept by his owne sin. A short promise, is a farre safer guard than a long lock: it is an ill distinction which God is loth to looke at, and his Angels cannot know his Saints by. Though

it be not the mark of the Beast, yet it may be the mark of a beast prepared to slaughter. I am fure men use not to weare such manes; I am also fure Souldiers use to weare other marklets or notadoes in time of battell.

**H**AVING done with the upper part of my work, I would now with all humble willingnesse fet on the best peece of Soule-leather I have, did I not fear I should break my All, which though it may be a right old English blade, yet it is but little and weake. I should esteem it the best piece of workmanship my Cobling hand ever wrought, if it would please Him whose worke it is, to direct me to speake such a word over the Sea, as the good old woman of *Abel* did over the wall, in the like exigent: but alas, I am but simple. What if I be?

*When States dishelv'd are, and Lawes untwist,  
Wise men keep their tongues, fools speak what they list.*

I would not be so unwise as to grieve the wife, if I were wise enough to foresee it: I would speake nothing to the Cause or Continuance of these wearisome Warres hitherto; the one is enough debated, the other more than enough peracted. Nor would I declaime of the uncomlineffe, unbrotherlineffe, unseasonableness and unreasonableness of these direfull digladiations: every stroak struck sounds too loud upon this harsh string. I would much rather speake perswasives to a comely brotherly seasonable and reasonable cessation of Armes on both sides, by a  
drawn

drawn battaile: Wherein if I shall adventure a few over-bold words, I intreat my ignorance, impartiality, and Loyalty may plead pardon for me.

Four meanes there are, and no more, within the compasse of my consideration, conducing to what is desired. Either to get the Standard fixed in heaven by the Lord of Hosts taken downe, I meane by Reformation: Or to fet up white colours instead of red, on one side or other, I meane by Composition: Or by furling up all the Ensignes on both sides, I meane by mutuall and generall Cessation: Or by still displaying all the Colours and Cornets of every battallion, I mean by prosecution: without Reformation there will hardly be any Composition; without Composition little hope of Cessation; without Cessation there must and will be Prosecution; which God forbid.

*Reformation.*

When the Roman Standard was defixed with such difficulty at the battaile between *Hannibal* and *Flaminius* at *Thrasimene*, it proved an ill Omen. *When God gives quietnesse, who can make trouble; when he hideth his face, who can behold him? Whether it be against a Nation or a man onely. That the Hypocrite reigne not, lest the people be insnared, Job 34. 29, 30.* How can the sword of the Lord put it selfe up into its scabbard and be quiet. when himself hath given it a charge to the contrary? *Jer. 47. 6, 7.* It was a Cardinall Truth which Cardinall *Poole* spake to *H. 8. Penes Reges est inferre bellum, penes autem Deum terminare.* If Kings will make their beginnings, God will make his ends: much more when himselfe begins

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gins: *When I begin, I will also make an end*, 1 Sam. 3. 12. Farre better were it, for men to make an end with him in time, than put him to make such an end with them as he there intends.

Politicall Reformation he seemes to call for now *indigitanter*. When he beholds Christian Kingdomes and States unsound in their foundations, illineal in their superstructures, unjust in their administrations; he kicks them in peeces with the foot of his Indignation: But when Religious Statesmen frame and build by the levell and plummet of his wisdom, then people may say as his servants of old, *Looke upon Zion the City of our Solemnities; Your eyes shall see it a quiet habitation, a Tabernacle that shall not be taken down; not one of the stakes thereof shall be removed, neither shall any of the coards thereof bee broken*, Isa. 33.20. neither by civill Commotions nor foraign Invasions, When the coards of a State are exquisitely tight, and the stakes firmly pitched; such a Tent though but a Tent shall not easily flutter or fall: But *if the Tacklings be so loose, that the maine Mast cannot stand steady, nor the Saile be well spread; then may the lame take and divide a great prey*, ver. 23. If Religion, Laws, Liberties, and foraign Federacies be flight: the strength of strong men shall beweakneffe, and the weakneffe of the weak victorious.

*Purapoliteja ne unum admittit solæcismulum, neque valet, præscriptio in politicis aut moralibus*. It may maintain a bright conjecture, against a rusty Truth: a legible possession, against an obliterate Claime: an inconvenience, against a convenience; where no cleare remedy may be had: but never anything that is formally

mally finfull, or materially mischievous. When rotten States are soundly mended from head to foot, proportions duly admeasured, Justice justly dispenced; then shall Rulers and Subjects have peace with God and themselves: but till then, the gayest Kingdomes shall be but ruffling scuffling, removing and commoving hovells. For *England*, however the upper Stories are shroadly shattered; yet the foundations and frame being good or mendable by the Architects now at worke, there is good hope, when peace is settled, people shall dwell more wind-tight and water-tight than formerly, I earnestly wish our Mr. Builders to remember, that punctuality in Divinity and Politie, is but regularity; that what is amisse in the mould, will misfashion the profult: and that if this market be slipt, things may grow as deare as ever they were. Most expert Gentlemen, bee intreated at length to set our Head right on our Shoulders, that we may once look upwards and goe forwards like proper Englishmen.

God will also have Ecclesiasticall Reformation now, or nothing: And here he stands not upon Kings, Parliaments or Affsemblies, but upon his own Termes. I feare Hee will have all droffe and base mettalls throughly melted away by these combustions, before Hee quenches them; all his Ordinances and vessells cast into his own fashion, in his own mould, to his own *amussim*, before he restores peace. If this first worke bee throughly and throughoutly dispatched as I hope it is, the great *Remora* is removed. If the Parliament and Affsembly be pleased to be as curious and indutrious as I have seen a great Popish Bishop in

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execrating a Proteftant Par. Church one day, and consecrating it the next; they may adjourn a while with leave enough,

Some ten or twelve years before these Wars there came to my view these two Predictions.

1. *When God shall purge this Land with soap and nitre,  
Woe be to the Crowne, woe be to the Mitre.*

The Accent of the blow shall fall there.

He that pities not the Crowne, pities not his own soule. Hee that pities not those that wore the Mitre, more than they pitied themselves, or the Churches over which they insulted, or the State then corrupted and now Corruined by their pride and negligence, is to blame.

2. *There is a set of Bishops comming next behind,  
Will ride the Devill off his legs, and break his wind.*

Poore men! they might have kept his back till this time for ought I know, had they not put him beyond his pace: but Schollers must gallop, though they tumble for it. Yet I commend them for this, they gave him such straynes as made him blow short ever since. I doubt the Affembly troubles him; and I doubt he troubles them. Well, the Bishops are gone: If they have carried away with them all that was in the pockets of their Holliday hose, farre them well; let them come againe when I give them a new *Conge d' Jtier*, or fend a pursuivant for them; which if I doe, I shall never trust my selfe more, though they have often done



done it for me, who never deserved that honour. Some of them I confesse were very honest men, and would have been honest if they dared for their fellows.

The sad worke now is to institute better things in their Roome, and to induct better men in their roome; rather where and how to finde those things, they having cunningly laid them so farre out of the way; I doubt some good men cannot see them, when they look full upon them: it is like, the Bishops carried away their eyes with them, but I fear they left their Spectacles behind them. I use no spectacles, yet my eyes are not fine enough, nor my hand steady enough to cut by such fine threads as are now spun. I am I know not what; I cannot tell what to make of my selfe, nor I think no body else: My Trade is to finde more faults than others will mend; and I am very diligent at it; yet it scarce findes me a living, though the Country finds me more worke than I can turne my hand to.

For Church worke, I am neither Presbyterian, nor plebsbyterian, but an Interpendent: My task is to sit and study how shapeable the Independent way will be to the body of *England*, then my head akes on one side; and how suitable the Presbyterian way, as we heare it propounded, will be to the minde of Christ, then my head akes on the other side: but when I consider how the Parliament will commoderate a way out of both, then my head leaves aking. I am not, without some contrivalls in my patching braines; but I had rather suppose them to powder, than expose them to prerregular, much lesse to preter-regular Judgements: I shall therefore rejoyce that the worke is faln

into so good hands, heads, and hearts, who will weigh Rules by Troyweight, and not by the old Haber-du-fois: and rather then meddle where I have so little skill, I will sit by and tell my feares to them that have the patience to heare them, and leave the red-hot question to them that dare handle it.

I feare many holy men have not so deeply humbled themselves for their former mis-worshippings of God as hee will have them before he reveales his secrets to them: as they accounted things indifferent, so they account indifferent repentance will serve turne. *Sonne of man, if my people be ashamed of all that they have done, then shew them the forme of the house, and the fashion thereof, else not, Ezek. 43. 11.* A sin in Gods worship, that seemes small in the common beame of the world, may be very great in the scales of his Sanctuary. Where God is very jealous, his servants should be very cautelous.

I feare the furnace wherein our new forms are casting, is over-heat, and casts smoake in the eyes of our founders, that they cannot well see what they doe, or ought to doe; *omne perit iudicium cum res transit in affectum.* Truth and Peace are the *Castor* and *Pollux* of the Gospell: they that seeke the one without the other, are like to finde neither: Anger will hinder domestick Prayers, much more Ecclesiastique Counsels. What is produced by tumult, is either difficient or redundant. When the judgements of good men concurre with an harmonious Diapason, the result is melodious and commodious. Warring and jarring men are no builders of houses for God, though otherwise very good. Instruments may be well made and  
well

well strung, but if they be not well fretted, the Mu-  
 fique is marred. The great Turke hearing Musitians  
 so long a tuning, he though it stood not with his state  
 to wait for what would follow. VVhen Christ whips  
 Market-makers out of his Temple, he raises dust: but  
 when he enters in with Truth and Holinesse, he calls  
 for deep silence, *Hab. 2. 20.* There must not a toole  
 be heard when the Tabernacle is reared: Nor is that  
 amiable or serviceable to men that passeth through so  
 many ill animadversions of Auditors and Spectators,  
 If the Affembly can hardly agree what to determine,  
 people will not easily agree what to accept.

I fear, these differences and delays have occasion-  
 ed men to make more new discoveries then otherwise  
 they would. If publique Affsemblies of Divines can-  
 not agree upon a right way, private Conventicles of  
 illiterate men; will soone finde a wrong. Bivious de-  
 mures breed devious resolutions. Passengers to hea-  
 ven are in haste, and will walk one way or other. He  
 that doubts of his way, thinks hee loses his day: and  
 when men are gone a while, they will be loth to turn  
 back. If God hide his path, Satan is at hand to turne  
 Convoy: if any have a minde to ride poste, he will  
 help them with a fresh spavin'd Opinion at every  
 Stage.

*Where clocks will stand, and Dials have no light,  
 There men must go by guesse, be't wrong or right.*

I feare, if the Affembly of all Divines, do not con-  
 sent, and concenter the sooner, God will breath a spi-  
 rit of wisedome and meeknesse, into the Parliament of

no Divines, to whom the Imperative and Coactive power supremely belongs, to consult such a contemperate way, as shall best please him, and profit his Churches, so that it shall be written upon the doore of the Affsembly; *The Lord was not there.*

I feare the importunity of some impatient, and subtlety of some malevolent mindes, will put both Parliament and Affsembly upon some preproperations, that will not be safe in Ecclesiasticall Constitutions. To procrastinate in matters cleare, as I said even now, may be dangerous; so, not to deliberate in dubious cases, will be as perilous. We here, though I think under favour, we have some as able Steersmen as *England* affords, have been driven to tack about again to some other points of Christs Compasse, and to make better observations before we hoyse up sayles. It will be found great wisdom in disputable cases, not to walk on by twilight, but very cauteously; rather by probationers for a time, then peremptory positives. Reelings and wheelings in Church acts, are both difficult and disadvantageous. It is rather Christian modesty than shame, in the dawning of Reformation, to be very perpenfive. Christs minde is, that Evangelicall policies, should be framed by Angelicall measures; not by a line of flaxe, but by a golded Reed, *Rev. 21. 15.*

I feare, he that sayes the Presbyterian and Independent way, if rightly carryed doe not meet in one, he doth not handle his Compasses so considerately as he should.

I feare if Authority doth not establish a futable and peaceable Government of Churches the sooner,  
the

the bells in all the steeples will ring awke so long, that they will hardly be brought into tune any more.

☞ My last, but not least feare, is, That God will hardly replant his Gospel in any part of Christendome, in so faire an Edition as is expected, till the whole field hath been so ploughed and harrowed, that the soile be throughly cleansed and fitted for new seed: Or whether he will not transplant it into some other Regions, I know not: This feare I have feared these 20 years, but upon what grounds I had rather bury than broach.

I dare not [but adde to what preceded about Church-reformation, a most humble petition, that the Authority of the Ministry be kept in its due altitude: if it be dropp'd in the dust, it will soon bee stifled: Encroachments on both sides, have bred detriments enough to the whole. The Separatists are content their teaching Elders should sit highest on the Bench, so they may sit in the Chaire over-against them; and that their Ruling Elders shall ride on the saddle, so they may hold the bridle. That they may likewise have seasonable and honourable maintenance, and that certainly stated: which generally we find and practise here as the best way. When Elders live upon peoples good wills, people care little for their ill wills, be they never so just. Voluntary Contributions or non tributions of Members, put Ministers upon many temptations in administrations of their Offices, two houres care does more dispirit an ingenuous man than two dayes study: nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to de fray it: it is pity men of gifts should  
live

live upon mens gifts. I have seen most of the Reformed Churches in Europ, and seene more misery in these two respects, then it is meet others should hear: the complaints of painfull *Pareus*, *David Pareus*, to my selfe, with tears, concerning the Germane Churches are not to be related.

There is yet a personall Reformation, as requisite as the politicall. When States are so reformed, that they conforme such as are profligate, into good civility: civill men, into religious morality: When Churches are so constituted, that Faith is ordained Pastour, Truth Teacher, Holinesse and Righteousnesse ruling Elders: Wisedome and Charity Deacons: Knowledge, love, hope, zeale, heavenly-mindednesse, meeknesse, patience, watchfulnesse, humility, diligence, sobriety, modesty, chastity, constancy, prudence, contentation, innocency, sincerity, &c. admitted members, and all their opposites excluded: then there will be peace of Country and Conscience.

Did the servants of Christ know what it is to live in Reformed Churches with unreformed spirits, under strict order with loose hearts, how formes of Religion breed but formes of Godlinesse, how men by Church-discipline, learne their Church-postures, and there rest; they would pray as hard for purity of heart, as purity of Ordinances. If wee mocke God in these, He will mocke us; either with defeat of our hopes; or which is worse: when wee have what we so much desire, wee shall be so much the worse for it. It was a well salted speech, uttered by an English Christian of a Reformed Church in the Netherlands, Wee have the good Orders here, but you have the good Christi-

Christians in *England*. Hee that prizes not Old *England* Graces, as much as New *England* Ordinances, had need goe to some other market before hee comes hither. In a word, hee that is not Pastour, Teacher, Ruler, Deacon and Brother to himselfe, and looks not at Christ above all, it matters not a farthing whether he be Presbyterian or Independent: he may be a zealot in bearing witnesse to which he likes best, and yet an Iscariot to both, in the witnesse of his owne Conscience.

I have upon strict observation, seen so much power of Godliness, and spirituall mindednesse in English Christians, living meerly upon Sermons and private duties, hardly come by, when the Gospell was little more than symptomaticall to the State; such Epidemicall and lethall formality in other disciplined Churches, that I professe in the hearing of God, my heart hath mourned, and mine eyes wept in secret, to consider what will become of multitudes of my dear Country-men when they shall enjoy what they now covet: Not that good Ordinances breed ill Consciences, but ill Consciences grow starke nought under good Ordinances; infomuch that might I wish an hypocrite the most perilous place but Hell, I should wish him a Membership in a strict Reformed Church: and might I wish a sincere Servant of God, the greatest greife earth can afford, I should wish him to live with a pure heart, in a Church impurely Reformed; yet through the improvement of Gods Spirit, that greife may sanctifie him for Gods service and presence, as much as the means he would have, but cannot.

I speak this the rather to prevent, what in me lyes,

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the imprudent romaging that is like to be in *England*, from Villages to Townes, from Townes to Cities, for Churches sake, to the undoing of Societies, Friendships, Kindreds, Families, Heritages, Callings, yea, the wise Providence of God in disposing mens habitations, now in the very Infancy of Reformation: by forgetting that a little leaven may feason a large lump: and it is much better to doe good than receive. It were a most uncharitable and unserviceable part, for good men to desert their own Congregations, where many may glorifie God in the day of his Visitation, for their presence and assistance. If a Christian would picke out a way to thrive in grace, let him study to administer grace to them that want; or to make sure a blessing upon his Family, let him labour to multiply the Family of Christ, and beleeve, that he which soweth liberally, shall reape abundantly; and he that spareth more than is need, from them that have more need, shall surely come to poverty: yea, let me say, that hee who forsakes the meanes of grace for Christ and his Churches sake, shall meet with a better bargaine, namely, grace it selfe. It is a time now, when full flockes should rather scatter to leane Churches than gather from other places to make themselves fat; when able Christians should rather turne Jesuites and Seminaries, than run into Covents and Frieries: had this been the course in the Primitive time, the Gospel had been pinfolded up in a few Cities, and not spread as it is.

What more ungodly sacriledge or man-stealing can there be, then to purloin from godly Ministers the first born of their fervent prayers and faithfull preachings,  
the



the leven of their flocks, the encouragement of their foules, the Crowne of their labours, their Epistle to Heaven? I am glad to hear our *New-England* Elders generally detest it *dispuenter*, and look at it as a killing *Cordolium*: If men will needs gather Churches out of the world (as they say) let them first plough the world, sow it, and reap it with their own hands, and the Lord give them a liberall Harvest. He is a very hard man that will reap where he hath not sowed, and gathered where he hath not strowed, *Mat. 24. 25.*

He that faith, it is or was our case, doth not rightly understand himself or us, and he that takes his warrant out of *Joh. 4. 37. 38.* is little acquainted with Expositors. Wifemen are amazed to hear that conscientious Ministers dare spoile many Congregations to make one for themselves.

In matter of Reformation, this would be remembered, that in premonitory judgements, God will take good words, and sincere intents; but in peremptory, nothing but real performances.

↙ *Composition*

**I**F Reformation were come thus neer, I should hope *Composition*, were not farre off: When hearts meet in God, they will soon meet in Gods wayes, and upon Gods termes. But to avoid prolixity, which steales upon me; For *Composition*, I shall compose halfe a dozen distichs concerning these kind of Wars; wishing I could sing asleep these odious stirs, at least on some part, with a dull Ode. He is no Cobler that cannot sing, nor no good Cobler that can sing well:

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## The Simple Cobler of

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*Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum* } They are  
*Qualem cunque potest*———Juvenal. } these.

1.

**T**hey seldome lose the field, but often win,  
 That end their warrs, before their warrs begin.

2.

Their Cause is oft the worst, that first begin,  
 And they may lose the field, the field that win:

3.

In Civill warrs 'twixt Subjects and their King,  
 There is no conquest got, by conquering.

4.

Warre ill begun, the onely way to mend,  
 Is t'end the warre before the warre doe end.

5.

They that well end ill warrs, must have the skill,  
 To make an end by Rule, and not by Will.

6.

In ending warrs 'tween Subjects and their Kings,  
 Great things are sav'd, by losing little things.

Wee heare that *Majestas Imperii* hath challenged *Salus Populi* into the field; the one fighting for Pre-rogatives, the other defending Liberties: Were I a Conftable bigge enough, I would fet one of them by the heeles to keep both their hands quiet; I mean onely in a paire of stocks, made of sound reason, handfomely fitted for the legges of their Underftanding.

If *Salus Populi* began, surely it was not that *Salus Populi* I left in England: that *Salus Populi* was as mannerly a *Salus Populi* as need bee: if I be not much deceived, that *Salus Populi* suffer'd its nose to be held to the Grindstone, till it was almost ground to the grifles  
 and

and yet grew never the sharper for ought I could discern; What was, before the world was made, I leave to better Antiquaries than my selfe; but I think, since the world began, it was never storied that *Salus Populi* began with *Majestas Imperii*, unlesse *Majestas Imperii* first unharbour'd it, and hunted it to a stand, and then it must either turne head and live, or turn taile and die: but more have been storied on the other hand than *Majestas Imperii* is willing to heare: I doubt not but *Majestas Imperii* knows, that Common-wealths cost as much the making as Crownes; and if they be well made, would yet outfell an ill-fashioned Crown, in any Market overt, if they could be well vouched.

But *Preces & Lachrymæ*, are the peoples weapons: so are Swords and Pistoles, when God and Parliaments bid them Arme. Prayers and Tears are good weapons for them that have nothing but knees and eyes; but most men are made with teeth and nailes; onely they must neither scratch for Liberties, nor bite Prerogatives, till they have wept and prayed as God would have them. If Subjects must fight for their Kings against other Kingdomes, when their Kings will; I know no reason, but they may fight against their Kings for their own Kingdomes, when Parliaments say they may and must: but Parliaments must not say they must, till God sayes they may.

I can never beleve that *Majestas Imperii*, was ever so simple as to think, that if it extends it self beyond its due Artique at one end, but *Salus Populi* must Antartique it as farre at the other end, or else the world will be Excentrick, and then it will whirle; and if it  
once

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## The Simple Cobler of

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once fall awhirling, ten to one, it will whirle them off first, that sit in highest Chaires on cushions fill'd with Peacocks feathers; and they are like to stand their ground fastest, that owne not one foot of ground to stand upon. When Kings rise higher than they should, they exhale Subjects higher than they would: if the *Primum Mobile* should ascend one foote higher than it is, it would hurry all the nether wheelles, and the whole world on fire in 24 houres. No Prince exceeds in Sovereignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their grieffe; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince.

*The crazy world will crack, in all the middle joynts,  
If all the ends it hath, have not their parapoynts.*

Nor can I beleve that Crownes trouble Kings heads, so much as Kings heads trouble Crowns: nor that they are flowers of Crowns that trouble Crowns, but rather some Nettles or Thistles mistaken for flowers.

To speak plainer English, I have wondred these thirty years what Kings aile: I have seen in my time, the best part of twenty Christian Kings and Princes; Yet as Christian as they were, some or other were still scuffling for Prerogatives. It must be granted at all hands, that *Prærogativæ Regis* are necessary Supporters of State: and stately things to stately Kings: but if withall, they be *Derogativæ Regno*, they are but little things to wise Kings. Equity is as due to People, as Eminency to Princes: Liberty to Subjects, as Royalty to Kings: If they cannot walk together lovingly  
hand

hand in hand, *paripassu*, they muft cut girdles and part as good friends as they may: Nor muft it be taken offensively, that when Kings are hailing up their top-gallants, Subjects lay hold on their slablines; the head and body muft move alike: it is nothing meet for me to fay with *Horace*,

*Ut tu fortunam, sic nos te Car'le feremus.*

But I hope I may fafely fay,

*The body beares the head, the head the Crown;  
If both beare not alike, then one will down.*

Distracting Nature, calls for distracting Remedies; perturbing policies for difturbng cures: if one Extreame fhould not conftitute its Anti-Extreame, all things would foon be in *extremo*: if ambitious windes get into Rulers Crownes, rebellious vapours will into Subjects Caps, be they ftopt never fo clofe: Yet the tongues of Times tell us of ten Preter royall Ufurpations, to one contra-civill Rebellion.

Civill Liberties and proprieties admeafured, to every man to his true *sum*, are the *prima pura principia, propria quarto modo*, the *sine quibus* of humane States, without which, men are but women. Peoples proftitutions of thefe things when they may lawfully helpe it, are prophane proftitutions; ignorant Ideotifmes, under-naturall noddaries; and juft it is that fuch as underfell them, fhould not re-inherit them in hafte, though they feek it carefully with teares. And fuch ufurpations by Rulers, are the unnaturalizings of  
nature,

nature, disfranchisements of Freedome, the Neronian nullifyings of Kingdomes: yea, I beleeve the Devill himfelfe would turn Round-head, rather then fuffer thefe Columnes of Common-wealths to be flighted: as he is a creature, he fears decreation; as an Angell, dehominations; as a Prince, dif-common-wealthings; as finite, thefe pen-infinite infolencies, which are the moft finite Infinites of misery to men on this fide the worlds diffolution; therefore it is, that with Gods leave, he hath founded an alarm to all the *fufque deques* pell-mels, one and alls, now harrasing fundry parts of Christendome. It is enough for God to be Infinite, too much for man to be Indefinite. He that will flye too high a quarry for Abfoluteneffe, fhall ftoope as much too low before he remounts his proper pitch: If *Jacob* will over top his Brother out of Gods time and way, we will fo hamstring him that he fhall make legs whether he will or no, at his brothers approach: and fuch as over-run all humane meafure, fhall feldom return to humane mercy: There are fins befides the fin againft the Holy Ghoft, which fhall not be expiated by facrifice for temporall revenge: I mean when they are boyled up to a full confiftence of contumacy and impenitency. Let absolute Demands or Commands be put into one fcale, and indefinite refusalls into the other: All the Goldsmiths in *Cheapefide*, cannot tell which weighs heaviest. Intolerable griefes to Subjects, breed the *Iliaca pafsio* in a body politick which inforces that upwards which fhould not. I fpeak thefe things to excufe, what I may, my Countrymen in the hearts of all that look upon their proceedings.

There is a quadrobulary faying, which paffes current

rent in the Westerne World, That the Emperour is *King of Kings*, the *Spaniard*, *King of Men*, the *French King of Affes*, the *King of England*, *King of Devils*. By his leave that first brayed the speech, they are pretty wise Devils and pretty honest; the worfe they doe, is to keep their *Kings* from devillizing, & them selves from Affing: Were I a *King* (a simple supposal) I would not part with one good English Devil, for some two of the Emperours *Kings*, nor three of the *Spaniards* Men, nor foure *French Affes*; If I did, I should think my selfe an *Affe* for my labour. I know nothing that *Englishmen* want, but true Grace, and honest pride; let them be well furnisht with those two, I feare they would make more *Affes*, then *Spaine* can make men, or the Emperour *Kings*. You will say I am now beyond my latchet; but you would not say so, if you knew how high my latchet will stretch; when I heare a lye with a latchet, that reaches up to his throat that first forged it.

He is a good King that undoes not his Subjects by any one of his unlimited Prerogatives: and they are a good people, that undoe not their Prince, by any one of their unbounded Liberties, be they the very least. I am sure either may, and I am sure neither would be trusted, how good foever. Stories tell us in effect, though not in termes, that over-risen Kings, have been the next evils to the world, unto fallen Angels; and that over-franchised people, are devills with smooth snaffles in their mouthes. A King that lives by Law, lives by love; and he that lives above Law, shall live under hatred doe what he can. Slavery and knavery goe as feldome asunder, as Tyranny and Cruelty. H I

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## The Simple Cobler of

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I have a long while thought it very possible, in a time of Peace, and in some Kings Reigne, for disert Statesmen, to cut an exquisite thred between Kings Prerogatives, and Subjects Liberties of all sorts, so as *Cæsar* might have his due, and People their share, without such sharp disputes. Good Casuists would case it, and case it, part it, and part it; now it, and then it, punctually. *Aquinas*, *Suarez* or *Valentia*, would have done it long ere this, had they not beene Popish, I might have said Knavish; for if they be so any where, it is in their Tractates of Priviledges. Our Common Law doth well, but it must doe better before things do as they should. There are some *Maximes* in Law, that would be taught to speake a little more mannerly, or else well *Anti-Maxim'd*: wee say, the King can doe a Subject no wrong; why may wee not say the Parliament can doe the King no wrong? We say, *Nullum tempus occurrit Regi* in taking wrong; why may wee not say, *Nullum tempus succurrit Regi* in doing wrong? which I doubt will prove as good a Canon if well examined.

Authority must have power to make and keep people honest; People, honestly to obey Authority; both, a joynt-Councell to keep both safe. Morall Lawes, Royall Prerogatives, Popular Liberties, are not of Mans making or giving, but Gods: Man is but to measure them out by Gods Rule: which if mans wifdome cannot reach, Mans experience must mend: And these Essentialls, must not be Ephorized or Tribuned by one or a few mens discretion, but lineally functioned by Supreme Councils. In *pro-re-nascent* occurrences, which cannot be foreseen; Diets, Parliaments



aments, Senates, or accountable Commissions, must have power to confult and execute againft interfilient dangers and flagitious crimes prohibited by the light of Nature: Yet it were good if States would let People know fo much before hand, by fome safe woven *manifesto*, that groffe Delinquents may tell no tales of Anchors and Buoyes, nor palliate their prefumptions with pretence of ignorance. I know no difference in thefe Effentials, between Monarchies, Aristocracies, or Democracies; the rule will be found, par-rationall fay Schoolemen and Pretorians what they will. And in all, the beft ftandard to meafure Prerogatives, is the Plough ftaffe, to meafure Liberties, the Scepter: if the tearms were a little altered into Loyall Prerogatives and Royall Liberties, then we fhould be fure to have Royall Kings and Loyall Subjects.

*Subjects their King, the King his Subjects greets,  
Whilome the Scepter and the Plough-ftaffe meets.*

But Progenitors have had them for four and twenty predeceffions: that would be fpoken in the Norman tongue or Cimbrian, not in the Englifh or Scotifh: When a Conquerour turnes Chriftian, Chriftianity turnes Conquerour: if they had had them time out of minde of man, before *Adam* was made, it is not a pin to the point in *foro rectæ rationis*: Juftice and Equity were before time, and will be after it: Time hath neither Politicks nor Ethicks, good nor evill in it; it is an empty thing, as empty as a *New-Englifh* purfe, and emptier it cannot bee: a man may break his neck in time, and in a leffe time then he can heale it.

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## The Simple Cobler of

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But here is the deadly pang, it must now be taken by force and dint of sword: I confesse it is a deadly pang to a Spirit made all of flesh, but not to a mortified heart: it is good to let God have his will as hee please, when we have not reason to let him have it as we should; remembring, that hitherto he hath taken order that ill Prerogatives gotten by the Sword, should in time be fetcht home by the Dagger, if nothing else will doe it: Yet I trust there is both day and means to intervent this bargaine. But if they should, if God will make both King and Kingdome the better by it, what should either lose? I am sure there is no great cause for either to make great brags.

*Pax quo carior, eo charior.*

*A peace well made, is likeliest then to hold,  
When 'tis both dearly bought and dearly sold.*

I confesse, he that parts with such pearles to be paid in old iron, had need to be pityed more by his faithfull friends, than he is like to be by his false flatterers. My heart is furcharged, I can no longer forbear.

**M***Y Dearest Lord*, and my more than *dearest King*; I most humbly beseech you upon mine aged knees, that you would please to arme your minde with patience of prooffe, and to intrench your selfe as deepe as you can, in your wonted Royall meeknesse; for I am resolved to display my unfurled soule in your face, and to storme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty. You owe the meanest true Subject you have,

a close account of these open Warres: they are no *Arcana imperii*. Then give me leave to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence? What moves you to take up Armes against your faithfull Subjects, when your Armes should bee embracing your mournfull Queen? What incenses your heart to make so many widdowes and Orphans, and among the rest your owne? Doth it become you, the King of the stateliest Island the world hath, to forsake your Throne, and take up the Manufacture of cutting your Subjects throats, for no other finne, but for Deifying you so over-much, that you cannot be quiet in your Spirit, till they have pluckt you downe as over-low? Doe your three Kingdomes so trouble you, that they must all three be set on fire at once, that when you have done, you may probably runne away by their light into utter darknesse? Doe your three Crownes sit so heavy on your head, that you will break the backs of the three bodies that set them on, and helpt you beare them so honourably? Have your three Lamb-like flocks so molested you, that you must deliver them up to the ravening teeth of evening Wolves? Are you so angry with those that never gave you just cause to be angry, but by their too much feare to anger you at all, when you gave them cause enough? Are you so weary of Peace, that you will never bee weary of Warre? Are you so willing to warre at home, who were so unwilling to warre abroad, where and when you should? Are you so weary

ry of being a good King, that you will leave your selfe never a good Subject? Have you peace of Conscience, in inforcing many of your Subjects to fight for you against their Conscience? Are you provided with Answers at the great Tribunall, for the destruction of so many thousands, whereof every man was as good a man as your Selfe, *qua* man?

Is it not a most unworthy part for you to bee running away from your Subjects in a day of battell, upon whose Pikes you may come safe with your naked breast and welcome? Is it honourable for you to bee flying on horses, from those that would esteeme it their greatest honour, to beare you on their humble shoulders to your Chaire of Estate, and set you down upon a Cushion stuffed with their hearts? Is it your prudence to be enraged with your best friends, for adventuring their lives to rescue you from your worst enemies? Were I a King, pardon the supposall, I would hang that Subject by the head, that would not take me by the heels, and dragge mee to my Court, when hee sees me shifting for life in the ruined Countrey, if nothing else would doe it; And I would honour their very heels, that would take me by the very head, and teach me, by all just meanes, to King it better, when they saw me un-Kinging my selfe, and Kingdome: Doe you not know Sir, that, as when your people are sicke of the Kings-evil, God hath given you a gift to heale them? so when your selfe are sicke of it, God hath given the Parliament a gift to heale you: Hath your Subjects love been so great to you, that you will spend it all, and leave your children little or none? Are you so exasperated against  
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wife *Scotland*, that you will make *England* your foole or foot-foole? Is your fathers sonne growne more Orthodox, then his most Orthodox father, when he told his sonne, that a King was for a kingdome, and not a kingdome for a King? parallell to that of the Apostle; the husband is but by the wife, but the wife of the husband.

Is *Majestas Imperij* growne so kickish, that it cannot stand quiet with *Salus Populi*, unlesse it be fettered? Are you well adviced, in trampling your Subjects so under your feet, that they can finde no place to be safe in, but over your head: Are you so inexorably offended with your Parliament, for suffering you to returne as you did, when you came into their house as you did, that you will be avenged on all whom they represent? Will you follow your very worst Councell so far, as to provoke your very best, to take better counsell than ever they did? If your Majesty be not Popish as you professe, and I am very willing to beleeve, why doe you put the Parliament to resume the sacrament of the Alter in saying, the King and Parliament, the King and Parliament? breaking your simple Subjects braines to understand such mysticall Parlee-ment? I question much, whether they were not better speake plainer English, then such Latine as the Angels can hardly construe, and God happily loves not to perse; I can as well admit an ubiquitary King as another, if a King be abroad in any good affaire; but if a King be at home, and will circumscribe himselfe at *Oxford*, and proscribe or discribe his Parliament at *Westminster*, if that *Parliament* will prescribe what they ought, without such paradoxing,

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doxing, I should think God would subscribe a *Le Dieu le veult* readily enough.

Is your *Advisera* such a *Suavamen* to you, that hath been such a *Gravamen* to Religion and Peace? Shall the cheife bearing wombe of your Kingdome, be ever so constituted, that it cannot be delivered of its owne deliverance, in what pangs soever it be, without the will of one man-midwife, and such a man as will come and not come, but as he list: nor bring a Parliament to bed of a well-begotten Liberty without an entire Subsidy? Doe not your Majesty being a Schollar, know that it was a truth long before it was spoken, that *Mundus est unus aut nullus*, that there is *Principium purum unum*, which unites the world and all that is in it; where that is broken, things fall afunder, that whatsoever is duable or triable, is fryable.

Is the *Militia* of your Kingdome, such an orient flower of your Crowne, which all good Herbalists judge but a meere nettle, while it is in any one mans hand living? May not you as well challenge the absolute dispossall of all the wealth of the Kingdome as of all the strength of your Kingdome? Can you put any difference? unlesse it bee this, that mens hearts and bones are within their skins, more proper and intrinsecall, their lands and cattell more externall: dare you not *concredit* the *Militia*, with those to whom you may betrust your heart, better then your owne breast? Will they ever harme you with the *Militia*, that have no manner of *Malitia* against you, but for mis-employing the *Militia* against them by the *malitia* of your ill Counsellours? What good will the

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the *Militia* doe you when you have wasted the Realm of all the best *Milites* it hath? May not your Majesty see through a paire of Spectacles, glazed with inch-board, that while you have your *Advisera* in one hand, and the *Militia* in the other, you have the necks of your Subjects under your feet, but not your heart in your owne hand? doe you not knowe that *malum est, posse malum?*

Hath Episcopacy beene such a religious Jewell in your State; that you will sell all or most of your Coronets, Caps of honour, and blue Garters, for six and twenty cloth Caps? and your Barons Cloakes, for so many Rockets, whereof usually twenty have had scarce good manners enough to keepe the other six sweet? Is no Bishop no King, such an oraculous Truth, that you will pawne your Crowne and life upon it? if you will, God may make it true indeed on your part: Had you rather part with all, then lose a few superfluous tumours, to pare off your monstrousnesse? Will you be so covetous, as to get more then you ought, by loosing more then you need? Have you not driven good Subjects enough abroad, but you will also slaughter them that stay at home? Will you take such an ill course, that no prayers can fasten that good upon you we desire? Is there not some worst root than all these growing in your Spirit, bringing forth all this bitter fruit? Against which you should take up Arms, rather then against your harmlesse Subjects? Doe you not foresee, into what importable head-tearings and heart-searchings you will be ingulfed, when the Parliament shall give you a mate, though but a Stale?

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Methinkes

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## *The Simple Cobler of*

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Methinkes it should breake your heart, to see such a one as I, presume so much upon your clemency & too much upon your Majesty, which your selfe have so eclipsed by the interposall of your Selfe between your Selfe and your Selfe, that it hath not ray's enough left, to dazle downe the height of my affections to the awe of my Judgement.

Tref-Royall Sir, I once againe beseech you, with teares dropping from my hoary head, to cover your Selfe as close as you may, with the best shield of goodnesse you have: I have somewhat more to say, which may happily trouble not your Selfe, but your followers, more than what is already said. There lived in your Realme and Reigne two whom I may well tearme Prophets, both now in a better Kingdome; whereof one foretold two things concerning your Majesty, of these very proceedings, long before they began; which being done and past shall bee buried in silence: the other made this prediction about the same time.

*King Charles will joyne himselfe to bitter Griefe,  
Then joyne to God, and prove a Godly Chiefe.*

His words were in prose these, *King Charles* will come into fetters, meaning strong afflictions, and then prove as good a *King*, as such a good *King of Israel*, whom he then named, but I need not: he was as inwardly acquainted with the minde of God, as fervent and frequent a *Beardman* for your welfare, and had as religious *Opticks of State*, as any man I know: foure other Predictions he made, full as improbable as this,  
whereof



whereof three are punctually performed. A good Christian being sometime in conflicts of Conscience, hurried with long tentations, used this speech to my selfe, I am now resolved to be quiet, for I plainly see, God will save me whether I will or no: If your Majesty would be pleased to thinke so in your heart, and say so with your mouth, all the good Subjects you have, would say, *Amen*, till the heavens rang, and I hope you have few so bad, but would say, *So be it.*

Much lamented Sir, if you will please to retire your Selfe to your Closet, whither you may most safely come, and make your peace with God, for the vast heritage of sinne your Intombed father left upon your score, the dreadfull Imprecation he poured upon the heads of his tender posterity in *Summerjets* and *Overburyes* Case, published in Star-chamber by his Royall command; your own sinful marriage, the sophistication of Religion and Policie in your time, the luxury of your Court and Country, your connivence with the Irish butcheries, your forgetfull breaches upon the Parliament, your compliance with Popish Doegs, with what else your Conscience shall suggest: and give us, your guilty Subjects example to doe the like, who have held pace and proportion with you in our evill wayes: we will helpe you by Gods assistance, to poure out rivers of tears, to wash away the streams of blood, which have beene shed for these heavy accounts; wee will also helpe you, God helping us, to beleve, that there is hope in *Israel* for these things; and Balme enough in his *Gilead* to heale all the broken bones of your three kingdomes, and to redouble your honour and our peace: His Arme is infinite; to

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an infinite power all things are equally faifible, to an infinite mercy all finnes equally pardonable. The Lord worke thefe things in us and for us, for his compaffions fake in Jefus Chirft.

Sir, you may now please to difcover your Selfe where you think meet; I trust I have not indangered you: I prefume your Ear-guard will keep farre enough from you, what ever I have faid: be it fo, I have difcharged my duty, let them looke to theirs. If my tongue fhould reach your eares, which I little hope for; let it be once faid; the great King of great *Britaine*, took advife of a fimple Cobler, yet fuch a Cobler, as will not exchange either his blood or his pride, with any Shoo-maker or Tanner in your Realme, nor with any of your late Bifhops which have flattered you thus in peeces: I would not fpeak thus in the eares of the world, through the mouth of the Preffe for all the plunder your plunderers have pillaged; were it not fomewhat to abate your Royall indignation toward a loyall Subject; a Subject whose heart hath been long carbonado'd, *des veniam verbo*, in flames of affection towards you. Your Majefty knowes or may know, time was, when I did, or would have done you a better peece of fervice, then all your Troopes and Regiments are now doing. Should I heare any Gentleman that followes you, of my yeares, fay hee loves you better than I, if it were lawfull, I would fweare by my Sword, he faid more then his fword would make good.

Gracious Sir, Vouchsafe to pardon me my no other fins, but my long Idolatry towards you, and my loving you too hard in this fpeech, and I will pardon  
you

you your Treason againſt me, even me, by committing Treason againſt your Selfe my Lord and King; and your murther, in murthering me, even me, by murthering my deare fellow Subjects, bone of my bone, and fleſh of my fleſh, and of yours alſo. If you will not pardon me, I will pardon my ſelfe, dwell in my owne clothes as long as I can, and happily make as good a ſhift for my proportion, as he that hath a lighter paire of heeles: And when you have done what you pleaſe, I am reſolved to be

I ſpeake in termes of Divinity not of Law and am deeply grieved that I am forced to ſuch neceſſary overboldneſſe.

*As loyall a Subject to your Maieſty when I have never a head on my ſhoulders, as you a Royall King to me, when you have your three Crownes on your head,*

Theod: de la Guard:

*Sir,*

I Cannot give you over thus; I moſt earneſtly implore you, that you would not deferre to conſider your ſelfe thoroughly, you are now returned to the brinke of your Honour and our Peace, ſtand not too long there, your State is full of diftractions, your people of expectations, the importune Affaires of your Kingdome perplexedly ſuſpended, your good Subjects are now riſing into a reſolution to pray you on to your Throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and people, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven; but how you will get into the one, without paſſing firſt through th'other, is the riddle they cannot untye. If they ſhall ply the Throne  
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## The Simple Cbler of

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of Grace hard, God will certainly heare, and in a fhort time mould you to his minde, and convince you, that it had and will bee farre eafier to fit downe meekely upon the *Rectum*, than to wander refo lutely in obliquities, which with Kings, feldome faile to diffembogue into bottomleffe Seas of forrowes.

Deareft Sir, be intreated to doe what you doe fincerely; the King of Heaven and Earth can fearch and difcover the hiddeneft corner of your heart, your Parliament underftands you farre better then you may conceive, they have many eares and eyes, and good ones, I beleeve they are Religioufly determined to re-cement you to your Body fo exquisitely, that the Errors of State and Church, routed by thefe late ftirs, may not re-allee hereafter, nor Themfelves be made a curfe to the iffue of their own bodies, nor a Scoffe, to all Politique Bodies in Europe. The Lord give your Majefty and all your Royall Branches *the fpirit of wifedome and understanding, the Spirit of knowledge and his feare*, for His mercy and Chrift his fake.

I would my skill would ferve me alfo, as well as my heart, to tranflate Prince *Rupert*, for his Queen-mothers fake, *Eliz.* a fecond. Mifmeane me not. I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wifh I had him there now: if I miftake not, he promifed then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wife hearted Palatine, a thankful man to the Englifh; to forgive all his finnes, and at length to fave his foule, notwithstanding all his God-damme mee's: yet I may doe him wrong; I am  
not

not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would; I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English these twelve years, am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor never saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adultereesses, in all this time, that I can call to minde: If these finnes bee amongst us privily, the Lord heale us. I would not bee understood to boast of our innocency; there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. But to follow my businesse.

Prosecutions of Warres between a King and his Parliament, are the direfull dilacerations of the world, the cruell Catastrophes of States, dreadfull to speak of; they are *nefanda & n'agenda*: I know no grounds can be given of them but two: Either upon Reason founded upon some surmisall of Treason, which my reason cannot reach: I could never conceive why a rationall King should commit Treason against a reasonable Parliament; or how a faithfull Parliament against their lawfull King: the most I can imagine, is a misprision of Treason, upon a misprision of Reason. He that knows not the spirit of his King, is an Atheist. Our King is not *Charles le simple* sometime of *France*: he understands not our King that understands him not to bee understanding. The Parliament is supposed Omniscient, because under God they are Omnipotent: if a Parliament have not as much knowledge and all other Vertues, as all the kingdome beside, they are no good Abridgement of the Common-wealth. I believe Remonstrances have demonstrated enough con-  
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cerning this point of Reason, to give satisfaction to such as satisfaction will satisfie.

Or upon Will.

The Will of a King is very numinous; it hath a kinde of vast univerfality in it, it is many times greater then the will of his whole kingdome, ftiffened with ill Counsell and ill Prefidents: if it be not a foot and half leffer than the Will of his Councell, and three foot leffer than the Will of his Parliament, it is too big. I think it were well for a King if hee had no will at all, but were all Reason. What if he committed his morall will to Divines, that were no Bifhops? his Politicall, to his Parliament, and a Councell chosen by Parliament? that if ever it miscarry, they may blame themselves moft, and him leaft. I fcarce know any King that hath fuch advantage as ours; his three kingdomes lye fo diftinct and entire, that if he please, he might keep them like three gardens without a weed, if he would let God keep his will, without wilfulneffe and rafhneffe.

I have obferved men to have two kindes of Wills, a Free-hold will, fuch as men hold in *Capite* of themselves; or a Copy-hold will, held at the will of other Lords or Ladies. I have read almoft all the Common Law of *England*, and some Statutes; yet I never read, that the Parliament held their will in fuch a *Capite*: their Tenure is *Knight-service*, and good *Knight-service* too, or elfe they are to blame. And I am fure, a King cannot hold by Copy, at the will of other Lords; the Law calls that *base tenure*, inconsistent with Royalty; much more base is it, to hold  
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at the will of Ladies: Apron-ftring *tenure* is very weak, tyed but of a flipping knot, which a childe may undoe, much more a King. It stands not with our Queens honour to weare an Apron, much lesse her Husband, in the ftrings; that were to infnare both him and her self in many unfafeties. I never heard our King was effeminate: to be a little Uxorious personally, is a vertuous vice in Oeconomicks; but Royally, a vitious vertue in Politicks. To speak English, Books & Tongues tell us, I wish they tell us true, that the Error of these Wars on our Kings part, proceeds only from ill Counsellours.

Ill Counsellours, are very ill Gamesters; if they see their own stake a losing, they will play away King, Queen, Bishops, Knights, Rooks, Pawnes, and all, before they will turn up the board; they that play for lusts, will play away themselves, and not leave themselves so much as a heart to repent; and then there is no Market left but Hell; if the case be thus, it is to no end to look for any end, till one side make an end of the other.

*They that at stake their Crownes and Honours set,  
Play lasting games, if Lust or Guilt doe bet.*

→ *Cessation.*

IF God would vouchsafe to give his Majesties Religion and Reason, power to fling his Wills head over the Wall, in matter of Composition, and his Subjects strength to throw their lusts after it, Arms would be soon laid down, and Peace soon taken up. They that are not at peace with God, are not at peace with  
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themselves, whatever they think; and they that are not at peace with themselves, cannot be at peace with others, if occasion provokes, be their nature never so good.

So farre as I can conjecture, the chiefe impediment to a generall and mutuall Cessation of Armes, is, a despaire of mutuall and generall forgivenesse. If ever *England* had need of a generall Jubile in Heaven and Earth, it is now. Our King and Parliament have been at great strife, who should obtaine most Justice: if they would now strive, who should shew most Mercy, it would heare well throughout the world. Here also my speech must be twofold and blind-fold. It is now nine Moneths and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this, the Parliament may be at the Kings mercy: Did I say a Kings mercy? what can I say more? no man on earth, can shew more mercy then a King, nor shall need more, when he comes to give an Account of his Kingdome: Nor did ever any Parliament merit more mercy than this, for they never finned, that I know, I mean against the Common and Statute Law of *England*: it is pity they who have given so many general pardons, should want one now.

If our King hath lost his way, and thereby learned to looke to his path better hereafter, and taught many Successors to King it right for many Ages; Methinks it should impetrate a Royall Redintegration, upon a Royall acknowledgement and ingagement. But how should an erring King trust a provoked Parliament? Surely he may trust God safe enough; who will never trust that State more with a good King, that will doe ill to a King that is turned so good. Me thinks those  
passages



passages of Scripture, *Esa.* 43. 24, 25. *chap.* 57. 17, 18. The strange illation, *Hof.* 2. 13, 14. should melt a heart of Steele into floods of mercy.

For others, were my head, one of the heads which first gave the King Counsell to take up these Armes, or to persist in them, when at any time he would have disbanded, I would give that head to the Kingdome, whether they would or no; if they would not cut it off, I would cut it off my selfe, and tender it at the Parliament doore, upon condition that all other heads might stand, which stand upon penitent hearts, and will doe better on than off; then I would carry it to *London-Bridge*, and charge my tongue to teach all tongues, to pronounce Parliament right hereafter.

When a kingdom is broken just in the neck joynt, in my poore policy, ropes and hatchets are not the kindest instruments to set it: Next to the spilling of the blood of Christ for sin, the sparing of the blood of sinners, where it may be as well spared as spilt, is the best way of expiation. It is no rare thing for Subjects to follow a leading King; if he will take his truncheon in his hand, it is to be expected many will put their swords in their Belts. Sins that rise out of mistake of judgement, are not so sinfull as those of malice ordinarily: and when multitudes sin, multitudes of mercy are the best Anodines.

--*gratia gratis data, gratissima.*

*Grace will dissolve, but rigour hardens guilt:  
Break not with Steely blows, what oyle should melt.*

*In Breaches integrant, 'tween Principalls of States,  
Due Justice may suppressse, but Love redintegrates.* ¶.

Whofoever be pardoned, I pray let not *Britanicus* scape, I mean a pardon. I take him to bee a very fer-viceable Gentleman; Out of my intire respect to him, I shall presume to give him half a dozen fitches of advife:

I intreat him to confider that our King is not onely a man, but a King in affliction; Kings afflictions are beyond Subjects apprehensions; a Crown may happily ake as much as a whole Common-wealth.

I desire him also to conceale himself as deeply as he can, if he cannot get a speciall pardon, to weare a Latitat, about his neck, or let him lie clofe under the Philosophers stone, and I'le warrant him for ever being found.

If he be discovered, I counsell him to get his head set on faster than our *New-England* Taylors use to set on Buttons; Kings, and Kings Childrens memories are as keen as their Subjects wits.

If he fears any such thing, that he would come over to us, to helpe recruite our bewildered brains: we will promise to maintain him so long as he lives, if he will promise to live no longer then we maintain him.

If he should bee discovered and his head chance to be cut off against his will, I earnestly beseech him to bequeath his wits to me and mine in Fee-simple, for we want them, and cannot live by our hands in this Country.

Lastly, I intreat him to keep his purse, I give him  
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my counsell *gratis*, confessing him to be more then my match, and that I am very loath to fall into his hands.

*Profecution.*

**I**F Reformation, Composition, Ceffation, can finde no admittance, there must and will be Profecution: to which I would also speake briefly and indifferently still to both sides; and first to that, which I had rather call Royalists then malignants; who if I mistake not, fight against the Truth.

Foolish Cowardly man (I pray patience, for I speak nothing but the pulse of my owne heart) dreads and hates, nothing in Heaven or Earth, so much as Truth: it is not God, nor Law, nor sinne, nor death, nor hell, that he feares, but only because hee feares there is Truth in them: Could he de-truth them all, he would desie them all: Let Perdition it selfe come upon him with deadly threats, fiery swords, displayed vengeance, he cares not; Let Salvation come cap in hand, with naked Reason, harmlesse Religion, lawny imbracements, he will rather flye or dye, than entertaine it: come Truth in what shape it will, hee will reject it: and when hee can beat it off with most steely prowesse, he thinkes himselfe the bravest man when in truth it is nothing but exfanguine feeble exility of Spirit. Thy heart, saith the Prophet *Ezek. 16. 30.* is weake, like the heart of an imperious whorish woman: a man would thinke, the heart of an imperious whore, were the very pummell of *Scanderbergs*; sword; alas, shee is hen-hearted, shee dares not looke Truth in the face; if she dared, shee would neither bee

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whorish, nor imperious, nor weake. He shewes more true fortitude, that prayes quarter of the least Truth, at a miles distance, than hee that breakes through and hewes downe the most Theban Phalanx that ever field bore. *Paul* expressed more true valour, in saying, I can doe nothing against the Truth, than *Goliah*, in defying the whole hoste of *Israel*.

Courageous Gentlemen, Yee that will stab him that gives you the lye; take heed yee spend not your bloods, limbes and soules, in fighting for some untruth: and yee that will fling out the gantlet to him that calls you Coward, dishonour not your selves with such Cowardise, as to fight against Truth, meerly for feare of it. A thousand pities it is such gallant Spirits should spend their lives, honours, heritages, and sweet relations in any Warres, where, for ought many of them know, some false mistake commands in Cheife.

Honoured Country men, bee intreated to love Truth: if it loves not you againe, and repaires not all your losses, then install some Untruth in its room for your Generall. If you will needs warre, be perswaded to contend lawfully, wisely and stedfastly against all errors in Divinity and Policy: they are the cursed Counter-mures, dropt Portcullises, scouring Angi-ports, sulphurious Granado's, laden murthers, peevish Galthropes, and rascall desperadoes, which the Prince of lyes employes with all his skill and malice, to maintaine the walls and gates of his kingdome, when Truth would enter in with grace and peace to save forlorne finners, and distressed commonwealthes; witnesse the present deplorable estate of fundry States in Europe. Give

Give me leave to speake a word more: it is but this; Yee will finde it a farre easier field, to wage warre against all the Armies that ever were or will be on Earth, and all the Angels of Heaven, than to take up Armes against any truth of God: It hath more Counsell and strength than all the world besides; and will certainly either gaine or ruine, convert or subvert every man that opposes it. I hope ingenuous men will rather take advice, then offence at what I have said: I had rather please ten, than grieve one intelligent man.

If this side be resolute, I turne me to the other.

Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousnes: Yee that have the cause of Religion, the life of your Kingdome and of all the good that is in it in your hands: Goe on undauntedly: As you are Called and Chosen, so be faithfull: Yee fight the battells of the Lord, bee neither desidious nor perfidious: You serve the King of Kings, who stiles you his heavenly Regiments, Consider well, what impregnable fighting it is in heaven, where the Lord of Hosts is your Generall, his Angels your Colonels, the Stars your fellow-souldiers, his Saints your Oratours, his Promises your victuallers, his Truth your Trenches; where Drums are Harps, Trumpets joyfull sounds; your Ensignes Christs Banners; where your weapons and armour are spirituall, therefore irrefutable, therefore impierceable; where Sun and wind cannot disadvantage you, you are above them; where hell it selfe cannot

not hurt you, where your fwords are furbuffed and fharpned by him that made their metall, where your wounds are bound up with the oyle of a good Caufe, where your blood runs into the veynes of Chrif, where fudden death is prefent martyrdom and life; your funerals refurrections your honour glory; where your widows and babes are received into perpetuall penfions; your names lifted among  *Davids Worthies*; where your greatest loffes are greateft gaines; and where you leave the troubles of war, to lye down in downy beds of eternall reft.

What good will it doe you, deare Countrymen, to live without lives, to enjoy  *England*  without the God of  *England* , your Kingdome without a Parliament, your Parliament without power, your Liberties without ftability, your Lawes without Juftice, your honours without vertue, your beings without wel-being, your wives without honefty, your children without morality, your fervants without civility, your lands without propriety, your goods without immunity, the Gofpel without falvation, your Churches without Miniftery, your Minifters without piety, and all you have or can have, with more teares and bitterneffe of heart, than all you have and fhall have will sweeten or wipe away?

Goe on therefore Renowned Gentlemen, fall on refolvedly, till your hands cleave to your fwords, your fwords to your enemies hearts, your hearts to victory, your victories to triumph, your triumphs to the ever-lafting praife of him that hath given you Spirits to offer your felves willingly, and to jeopard your lives in high perils, for his Name and fervice fake.

And

And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will fend up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace, that the God of power and goodnesse, would encourage your hearts, cover your heads, strengthen your arms, pardon your finnes, save your soules, and blesse your families, in the day of Battell. Wee will also pray, that the same Lord of Hosts, would discover the Counsels, defeat the Enterprizes, deride the hopes, disdain the insolencies, and wound the hairy scalpes of your obstinate Enemies, and yet pardon all that are unwillingly misled. Wee will likewise helpe you beleieve that God will be seen on the Mount, that it is all one with him to save by many or few, and that he doth but humble and try you for the present, that he may doe you good at the latter end. All which hee bring to passe who is able to doe exceeding abundantly, above all we can aske or thinke, for his Truth and mercy sake in Jesus Christ.

*Amen. Amen.*

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#### A Word of IRELAND:

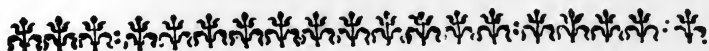
*Not of the Nation universally, nor of any man in it, that hath so much as one haire of Christianity or Humanity growing on his head or beard, but onely of the truculent Cut-throats, and such as shall take up Armes in their Defence.*

**T**hese *Irish* anciently called *Antropophagi*, man-eaters: Have a Tradition among them, That  
 L when

when the Devill fhewed our Saviour all the Kingdomes of the Earth and their glory, that he would not fhew him *Ireland*, but referved it for himfelfe: it is probably true, for he hath kept it ever fince for his own peculiar; the old Fox forefaw it would eclipse the glory of all the reft: he thought it wifdome to keep the land for a Boggards for his unclean fpirits imployed in this Hemisphere, and the people, to doe his Son and Heire, I mean the Pope, that fervice for which *Lewis* the eleventh kept his Barbor *Oliver*, which makes them fo blood-thirfty. They are the very Offall of men, Dregges of Mankind, Reproach of Chriftendom, the Bots that crawle on the Beafts taile I wonder *Rome* it felf is not afhamed of them.

I begge upon my, hands and knees, that the Expedition againft them may be undertaken while the hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot, to whom I will be bold to fay briefly: Happy is he that fhall reward them as they have ferved us, and Curfed be he that fhall do that work of the Lord negligently, Curfed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood: yea, Curfed be he that maketh not his Sword ftarke drunk with *Irifh* blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellifh treachery to the *English*, that maketh them not heaps upon heaps, and their Country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonifhment to Nations: Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be fpared, that pities or fpares them, and let him be accurfed, that curfeth not them bitterly.





## A word of Love to the Common people of *England.*

IT is, your, now or never, to muster up puissant Armies of prayer to the mercy Seate; your Body Representative, is now to take in hand, as intricate a peice of worke, as ever fell into the hands of any Parliament in the world, to tye an indissoluble knot upon that webb which hath been woven with so much cost and bloud, wherein if they happen to make one false maske, it may re-imbarque themselves and you all into a deadly relapse of scorne and calamity. It is the worke of God not of man, pray speedily therefore, and speedingly, give him no rest till your rest be thoroughly re-established, Your God is a God whose name is All-sufficient, abundant in Goodnesse and Truth, on whom the Sonnes of *Iacob* never did, nor shall call in vaine, you have a Throne of Grace wher-to you may goe boldly; a Christ to give you a leading by the hand and liberty of speech, an Intercessor in Heaven to offer up your prayers wrapp'd in his own; a large Charter *aske and have*, a Spirit to helpe all your infirmities in that duty, a sure Covenant that you shalbe heard, and such late encouragement as may strengthen your feeble hands for ever. If you who *may command God concerning the work of his hand*, shall faile to demand the workmanship of his hand in this worke, your children will proclaime you un-

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*The Simple Cobler of*


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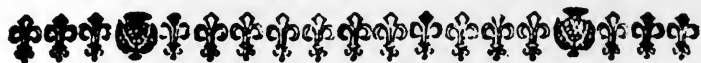
thriffts with bitter teares to the worlds end.

If you see no cause to pray, read

*Jer. 18. 1. ---10.*

Be also intreated to have a continuall and conscientious care not to impeach the Parliament in the hearts one of another by whispering complaints, easilier told then tryed or trued. Great bodyes move but flowely, especially when they move on three leggs and are over-loden with weighty occasions. They have now fate full six years without intermission to continue your being, many of their heads are growne gray with your cares, they are the High Councill of the Kingdome, the great Gilead of your Balme, the Phisitians of all your sicknesse; if any of them doe amiffe, blame your selves, you chose them, be wiser hereafter; you cannot doe the State, your selves, your posterity a more ungratefull office then to impaire them with disparagements and discouragements who are so stuidious to repaire your almost irreparable ruines.

Be likewise be feeched, not to flight good ministers, whom you were wont to reverence much, they are Gods Embassadours, your Ephods, your Starres, your Horfe-men & Chariots, your Watchmen, & under Christ your Salvation, I know no deadlier Symptome of a dying people than to undervalue godly Ministers, whosoever despiseth them shall certainly be despised of God and men at one time or other.



A most humble heel-piece.  
 TO THE  
 Most Honourable Head-piece  
 THE  
 Parliament of *England.*

I Might excuse my selfe in Part, with a speech  
*Lycurgus* used in the like exigent of State, *sene-  
 ctute fio audacior, publica necessitate loquacior*, but it  
 much better becomes mee with all lowlineffe and  
 uprightnesse, wherein I have failed to pray pardon  
 on both my knees, which I most humbly and wil-  
 lingly doe; only, before I rise, I crave leave to pre-  
 sent this six-fold Petition.

That you would be pleased

To preserve the Sacred reputation of Parliaments,  
 or, wee shall have no Common-wealth.

To uphold the due estimation of good Ministers,  
 else, wee shall have no Church.

To heale the sad dislocation of our Head, through-  
 ly, perfectly, or, wee shall have no King.

To

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*The Simple Cobler of*

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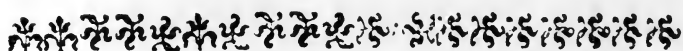
To oppugne the bold violation of divine Truths,  
else wee fhall have no God.

To proceed with what zeale you began, or what  
you began can come to little end.

To expedite worke with what fpeede you fafely  
may, else ignorant people will feare they fhall  
have no end at all.

Hee that is great in Counfell, and Wonderfull in  
Working, guide and helpe you in All things, that  
doing All things in Him, by Him, and for Him,  
you may doe All things like Him.

*So be it.*



A respective word to the Ministers  
of ENGLAND.

**F**ARRE bee it from mee, while I dehort others  
to flight you my selfe, or to despise any man  
but my selfe, whom I can never despise enough:  
I rather humbly intreate you to forgive my bold-  
nesse, who have most just cause to judge my selfe  
lesse and lesse faithfull than the least of you all, yet  
I dare not but bee so faithfull to you and my selfe,  
as to say

They are the Ministers of *England*, that have lost  
the Land; for Christs sake, put on His bowels, His  
wisdome, His zeale, and recover it.

I pray

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*The Simple Cobler of*


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I pray let me drive in half a dozen plaine honest Country Hobnails, such as the Martyrs were wont to weare; to make my work hold the surer; and I have done.

1. *Here, lives cannot be good,  
There, Faith cannot be sure,  
Where Truth cannot be quiet,  
Nor Ordinances pure.*

2. *No King can King it right,  
Nor rightly sway his Rod;  
Who truly loves not Christ,  
And truly fears not God.*

3. *He cannot rule a Land,  
As Lands should ruled been,  
That lets himself be rul'd  
By a ruling Romane Queen.*

4. *No earthly man can be  
True Subject to this State;  
Who makes the Pope his Christ,  
An Heretique his Mate.*

5. *There Peace will goe to War,  
And Silence make a noise:  
Where upper things will not  
With nether equipoyse.*

6. *The*

6. *The upper world shall Rule,  
While Stars will run their race:  
The nether world obey,  
While people keep their place.*

The Clench.

*I* *F any of these come out  
So long's the world doe last:  
Then credit not a word  
Of what is said and past.*

M

ERRATA



# ERRATA AT NON CORRIGENDA.

NOW I come to rubbe over my work, I finde five or six things like faults, which would be mended or commended, I know not well which, nor greatly care.

1. For *Levity*, read, *Lepidity*, —— and that a very little, and that very necessary, if not unavoydable.

*Misce stultitiam Consiliis brevem*  
—*Dulce est desipere in loco.* Horat.

To speak to light heads with heavy words, were to break their necks: to cloathe Summer matter, with Winter Rugges, would make the Reader sweat. It is musick to me, to hear every Ditty speak its spirit in its apt tune: every breast, to sing its proper part, and every creature, to expresse it self in its naturall note: should I heare a Moufe roare like a Beare, a Cat lowgh like an Oxe, or a Horse whistle like a Red-breast, it would scare — mee.

*The world's a well strung fiddle, mans tongue the quill,  
That fills the world with fumble for want of skill,  
When things and words in tune and tone doe meet,  
The universall song goes smooth and sweet.*

2. For



2. For *audacity*, read, *veracity*, or *Verum Gallice non libenter audis*. Mart. Flattery never doth well, but when it is whispered through a paire of lipping teeth; Truth best, when it is spoken out, through a paire of open lips, Ye make such a noyse there, with Drums and Trumpets, that if I should not speak loud, ye could not hear me. Ye talke one to another, with whole Culvering and Canon; give us leave to talk Squibs and Pistoletto's charged with nothing but powder of Love and shott of Reason: if you will cut such deep gashes in one anothers flesh, we must sow them up with deep stiches, else ye may bleed to death: ye were better let us, your tender Countrymen doe it, than forraine Surgeons, who will handle you more cruelly, and take no other pay, but your Lives and Lands.

————— *Aspice vultus,*  
*Ecce meos, utinamque oculos in pectore posses*  
*Inferere: & patrias intus deprendere Curas.* Ovid.  
 (Phœb.)

*He that to tall men speakes, must lift up's head,*  
*And when h'hath done, must set it where he did:*  
*He that to proud men talkes, must put on pride;*  
*And when h'hath done, 'tis good to lay't aside.*

3. For, *Yes, but you speak at three thousand miles distance, which every Coward dare doe*, read, *if my heart deceives me not, I would speak thus, in the Presence Chamber or House of Commons;* hoping *Homer* will speak a good word for me.

Θαρσαλέος γὰρ ἀνὴρ ἐν πάσιν ἀμείνων  
 Ἔργοισι. —————

*Omnibus in rebus potior vir fortis & audax  
Sic licet hospes, & è longinquis venerit oris.*

*When Kings are lost, and Subjects cast away,  
A faithfull heart should speak what tongue can say:  
It skils not where this faithfull heart doth dwell,  
His faithfull dealing should be taken well.*

4. For, *affected termes*, read, *I hope not* ——— If I affect termes, it is my feebleness; friends that know me, think I doe not: I confesse, I see I have here and there taken a few finish ftitches, which may haply please a few Velvet eares; but I cannot now well pull them out, unlesse I should seame-rend all. It seemes it is in fashion with you to fugar your papers with Carnation phrases, and spangle your speeches with new quodled words. Ermins in Minifer is every mans Coat. Yet we heare some are raking in old mufty Charnel books, for old mouldy monefyllables; I wish they were all banisht to *Monmouthshire*, to return when they had more wit.

*Multa renascentur quæ jam cecidere, cadentque  
Quæ nunc sunt in honore vocabula, si volet usus.* Hor.

I honour them with my heart, that can expresse more than ordinary matter in ordinary words: it is a pleasing eloquence; them more that study wisely and soberly to inhance their native language; them most of all, that esteem the late significant speech, the third great blessing of the Land; it being so enriched, that a man may speak many Tongues in his Mothers mouth

mouth and an uplandish Rustick, more in one word than himsele and all the Parish understands. Affected termes are unaffecting things to solid hearers; yet I hold him prudent, that in these fastidious times, will helpe disedged appetites with convenient condiments, and bangled ears, with pretty quicke pluckes. I speak the rather because, not long since, I met with a book, the best to me I ever saw, but the Bible, yet under favour, it was somewhat underclad, especially by him who can both excogitate and expresse what hee undertakes, as well as any man I know.

*The world is growne so fine in words and wit,  
That pens must now Sir Edward Nich 'las it.  
He that much matter speaks, speaks ne'r a whit.  
If's tongue doth not career't above his wit.*

5. For, *You verse it simply, what need have we of your thin Poetry;* read, I confesse I wonder at it my self, that I should turne Poet: I can impute it to nothing, but to the flatuoufnesse of our diet: they are but sudden raptures soone up, soone downe.

--*Deductum dicere Carmen,* is highly commended by *Macrobius.*

*Virgil* himself said,

*Agrestem tenui meditabor arundine musam.*

*Poetry's a gift wherein but few excell;*

*He doth very ill, that doth not passing well.*

*But he doth passing well, that doth his best,*

*And he doth best, that passeth all the rest.*

6. For, *tediousnesse*, read, *I am sorry for it*—We have a strong weaknesse in N. E. that when wee are speaking, we know not how to conclude: wee make many ends, before we make an end: the fault is in the Climate; we cannot helpe it though we can, which is the Arch infirmity in all morality: We are so near the West pole, that our Longitudes are as long, as any wise man would wish, and somewhat longer. I scarce know any Adage more gratefull: than *Grata brevitatis*.

*Verba confer maxime ad compendium.* Plaut.

*Coblers will mend, but some will never mend,  
But end, and end, and end, and never end.  
A well-girt houre gives every man content,  
Sixe ribs of beefe, are worth sixe weeks of Lent.*

For, *all my other faults, which may bee more and greater than I see*, read, *I am heartily sorry for them*, before I know them, least I should forget it after; and humbly crave pardon at adventure, having nothing that I can think of, to plead but this,

*Quisquis inops peccat, minor est reus.* Petron.

*Poore Coblers well may fault it now and then,  
They'r ever mending faults for other men.  
And if I worke for nought, why is it said,  
This bungling Cobler would be soundly paid?*

So

*So farewell England old  
If evill times ensue,  
Let good men come to us,  
Wee'l welcome them to New.*

*And farewell Honor'd Friends,  
If happy dayes ensue,  
You'l have some Guests from hence,  
Pray welcome us to you.*

*And farewell simple world,  
If thou'lt thy Cranium mend,  
There is my Last and All,  
And a Shoem-Akers*

END.

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## ■ NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER.

IN March, 1633, a little company of settlers, led by John Winthrop, Jr., eldest son of the Governor, invaded the wilderness and began the formal settlement of Ipswich. The young leader was a scholarly and noble-minded man, and a singularly refined group was attracted at once to the new town. For the work of the ministry, came Nathaniel Ward, and Nathaniel Rogers, both excommunicated by Laud and deposed from the ministry in England, and the young John Norton, brilliant in scholarship and destined for high place in the Colony. Thomas Dudley, retiring from the Governorship, sought a new home here, and with him came his daughter, Ann, with her husband, Simon Bradstreet, the future statesman, and Patience and her husband, Daniel Denison, renowned for his military skill and political prominence. Dr. Giles Firmin, son-in-law of Ward, and Richard Saltonstall, son of Sir Richard, a man of fine intellectual parts, called at once to places of political preferment, were numbered among the earliest settlers.

■ Winthrop had been a student at Trinity College, Dublin. Ward, Rogers, Norton, Saltonstall, and Firmin were all Cambridge graduates. Bradstreet and Dudley were men of fine intelligence, and Ann Bradstreet was already revealing marked poetical gifts.

■ William Hubbard took his bachelor's degree in 1642 with the first class that graduated from Harvard, and became the minister of the Ipswich church. Ezekiel Cheever, the famous schoolmaster, came in 1650, and taught for ten years as Master of the Grammar School. Samuel Symonds grew into fame and influence in political life, Samuel Appleton won renown as Commander-in-chief during King Philip's War, and in the fiftieth year from the settlement of the town, John Rogers was called to the presidency of Harvard. A few years later, Ipswich gained a notable place in the annals of resistance to tyranny by her refusal to choose the tax commissioner ordered by Sir Edmund Andros.

From this brilliant group, came notable contributions to the literature of New England. Ann Bradstreet, inspired

by such an atmosphere, wrote the poems which were hailed with rapture as the work of the Tenth Muse. William Hubbard compiled his *History of the Indian Wars*. Nathaniel Ward revealed his great gifts in the preparation of *The Body of Liberties* and *The Simple Cobler*. He was the most striking figure perhaps in this illustrious company. His career in England had been noteworthy. He had taken his degree of Bachelor of Arts at Emmanuel College in 1600 and his Master's degree in 1603, but chose the legal profession, though his father and two brothers were clergymen. He "read almost all the Common Law of England and some Statutes," he remarks in *The Simple Cobler* (p. 66), then travelled widely in Europe and spent some time in Heidelberg. There he came in contact with the famous theologian, David Pareus, and was influenced by him to abandon the law and enter the ministry.

While rector at Stondon-Massey, near London, he became conspicuous for his Puritan practices, and was summoned before Archbishop Laud. Refusing to comply with the ecclesiastical requirements, he was roughly excommunicated. Deprived of his home by the death of his wife and deposed from the ministry, he sought a new home and work in the New World, although he was at least fifty-four years old.

He came to Ipswich in 1634, the year of his arrival, and began his work at once. Mr. John Ward Dean, in his excellent *Memoir of Mr. Ward*, states that he preached not more than two or three years, and that he was moved to resign his pastorate, partly on account of impaired health, but principally from a preference for literary employments. He was succeeded by Rev. Nathaniel Rogers in February, 1637/8, and turned at once to other and varied labors.

His house was built near the present site of the Col. Wade mansion. His sons, James and John, were often with him, and his daughter, Susan, wife of Dr. Giles Firmin, lived on the adjoining lot, where the parsonage of the South Church now stands. On the opposite side of the road, within a few rods of Mr. Ward's door, Richard Saltonstall and Mr. Rogers reared their dwellings. John Norton, Gov. Dudley and Simon Bradstreet dwelt within easy walking distance. Congenial society was never lacking.

In April, 1638, he was appointed a member of a committee to prepare a code of laws for the Colony. His legal attain-



ments fitted him pre-eminently for this work, and the code which he prepared is generally recognized to be identical with The Body of Liberties, which was eventually ratified and adopted as the written law of the Colony. It has been commended by men of high judicial attainments as a work of fine legal quality. The General Court granted Mr. Ward six hundred acres of land at Pentucket, now Haverhill, in 1641, as compensation for this service.<sup>1</sup>

In 1643, fears were prevalent of entanglement with French colonial affairs at St. John on account of Gov. Winthrop's favorable action upon the request of La Tour to hire ships in the Colony. A Remonstrance<sup>2</sup> was drawn up signed by Richard Saltonstall, Simon Bradstreet, Samuel Symonds, Nathaniel Ward, Ezekiel Rogers, Nathaniel Rogers, and John Norton. The first three were magistrates. Ezekiel Rogers was minister at Rowley. This document may have contributed to the defeat of Governor Winthrop at the following election. It is natural to conclude that the conferences incidental to the formulating of this Remonstrance may have been held in Mr. Ward's house, as the oldest of the group and most delicate in health.

In the year 1645<sup>3</sup> he was already at work on The Simple Cobler, which was completed in the following year and sent to London for publication. He bade farewell to Ipswich in the winter of 1646/7, and sailed for England, where he spent his declining years, and died in 1653.

During these twelve years he had tasted the bitterness of poverty. The pathos of that letter written on December 24 of 1634 or 1635 to Governor Winthrop will never be forgotten. "I heare Mr. Coddington hath the sale and disposall of much provision come in this shipp. I intreate you to do so much as to speake to him in my name to reserue some meale & malt & what victuals els he thinks meete till our Riuer be open our Church will pay him duely for it I am very destitute I have not above 6 bushells corne left & other things answerable."

With grim humor, he remarks of Time in The Simple

<sup>1</sup> See an estimate of this code in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," page 47.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in full in the Hutchinson Papers, with Gov. Winthrop's answer.

<sup>3</sup> Simple Cobler, p. 18: "Materia millessima sexcentesima quadragesima quinta."

Cobler (p. 53), "it is an empty thing, as empty as a New-English purse, and emptier it cannot bee;" and there is a touch of bitterness in his observations on the financial support of ministers, "nor can an Elder be given to hospitality, when he knowes not what will be given him to defray it: it is pity men of gifts should live upon mens gifts" (p. 41). "The seeds of the Bay-sickness," caused much physical pain and weakness, so that he realized his unfitness for a removal to the new plantation at Pentucket, though the project was often deliberated by the family group, and his son John removed thither, and became the minister of the new settlement.

No house ever built in our town has such associations as that in which he dwelt and wrought out *The Body of Liberties* and struck off *The Simple Cobler*, while in the humor, brooding often upon his poverty and weakness. It was standing some years after his departure. Cotton Mather, in his "Parentator, Memoirs of Remarkables in the Life and Death of his father, Increase Mather," published in 1724, remarked, quoting perhaps his father's words:

"An Hundred witty Speeches of our celebrated Ward who called himself *The Simple Cobler* of Agawam [and over whose Mantle-piece in his House, by the way, I have seen those three Words Engraved, SOBRIE JUSTE PIE and a Fourth added which was LÆTE] have been reported. But he had one Godly Speech. *I have only Two Comforts to Live upon: The one is, in The Perfections of CHRIST: The other is in The Imperfections of all CHRISTIANS.*"

No deed of conveyance was recorded. It was sold undoubtedly to Jonathan Wade and Firmin's house became the property of Deacon William Goodhue.<sup>1</sup>

*The Simple Cobler* was published in January, 1646/7, and attained great popularity. Four editions were printed within a few months. A reprint of the fourth London edition was published in Boston in 1713, and David Pulsifer, of the Ipswich family of that name, made a reprint of this edition in 1843. This reprint is from a copy of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> See a full account of land transfers in "Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," p. 470. Mr. John W. Nourse has discovered, in the Commonsers' Record, the entry

"Mr. Jonathan &	}	claim equal
Mr. Thomas Wade	}	rights in y <sup>e</sup> several

comonages, one by Mr. Nath<sup>l</sup> Wards Entry 1641 deed<sup>d</sup> to y<sup>r</sup> Grandfather in 1646."

London edition, presented to the Ipswich Historical Society by the late Daniel Fuller Appleton, Esq. The title page and the two following pages have been reproduced. The page divisions and the general appearance of the book have been preserved as far as possible throughout the work. The original punctuation, capital letters, and spelling have been adhered to faithfully.

The title page is ingeniously worded. The author's name appears thinly disguised under the pseudonym, Theodore de la Guard, Theodore being the exact Greek equivalent of the Hebrew, Nathaniel, and de la Guard an easy French rendering of Ward. The mingling of classical quotations with acute and amusing English paraphrases is an admirable prelude to the method of the whole essay. The fiction of the 'Cobler' is maintained in the prefatory note, To the Reader, and in the title repeated on page 1, but it is abandoned instantly with the discussion of his theme, reappearing only in his setting on of "the best peece of Soule-leather I have" on page 32, in the snatch of song he puts in the mouth of the 'Cobler' on pages 45 and 46, the "humble heel-piece" on pages 79 and 80, and the numerous finishing touches of the Errata, with which the book ends.

A few vigorous sentences portray the confused and critical condition of public affairs. "Sathan is now in his passions, he feelles his passion approaching: hee loves to fish in royled waters." "The finer Religion grows, the finer hee spins his Cobwebs" (p. 2).

The healing of "these comfortlesse exulcerations," is a difficult task, but he endeavors to make some contribution to this end. Resenting the charge that the New England colonists are "a Colluvies of wild Opinionists, swarmed into a remote wildernes to find elbow-roume for our phanatick Doctrines and practises:" he proclaims in the name of the Colony "that all Familists, Antinomians, Anabaptists and other Enthusiasts shall have free Liberty to keepe away from us, and such as will come to be gone as fast as they can, the sooner the better," and he avers, "that God doth no where in his word tolerate Christian States, to give Tolerations to such adversaries of his Truth, if they have power in their hands to suppress them" (p. 3). This is the keynote of his teaching. Intolerance of every false opinion or practise is the duty of the Puritans of England,

in their conflict with error. He has heard of a compact made by some planters in the West Indies, which "firmly provides free stable-room and litter for all kinde of consciences, be they never so dirty or jadish; making it actionable, yea, treasonable, to disturbe any man in his Religion, or to discommend it, whatever it be," but he rejoices that "God abhorring such loathsome beverages, hath in his righteous judgement blasted that enterprize" (p. 4). Four things he detests: "The standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; Forrainers dwelling in my Countrey, to crowd out native Subjects into the corners of the Earth; Alchymized coines; Toleration of divers Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes" (p. 5). "To authorise an untruth," he affirms, "is to build a Sconce against the walls of heaven, to batter God out of his chaire" (p. 6). He brings all his arguments to establish the truth of his position. "*Augustines* tongue had not owed his mouth one penny-rent though he had never spake word more in it, but this, *Nullum malum pejus libertate errandi*" (p. 8). (No evil is worse than liberty to teach falsely.) The Scriptures teach, he affirms, that "nothing makes free but Truth, and Truth saith, there is no Truth but one" (p. 9). If there is room in England for the Errorists whom he catalogues on page 11, then there is room for the mythical and unclean sprites he mentions over against them, "In a word room for Hell above ground."

Lest any one may misunderstand his position he reaffirms it. "It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience and that it is persecution to debarre them of it: I can rather stand amazed then reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the braines of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance; Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and finde an Assertion worse then this (one excepted) I will petition to be chosen the universall Ideot of the world" (p. 12). Hence Parliament should enact "some peremptory Statutory Act" against Error, and every prophet should preach against it. All infants should be baptized, "though their Parents judgements be against it" (p. 17). He gives warning of a "new sprung Sect of phrantasticks, which would perswade themselves and others, that they have discovered the Nor-west passage to Heaven. These wits of the game, cry up and downe in corners such bold ignotions of a

new Gospell, new Christ, new Faith, and new gay-nothings, as trouble unsetled heads, querulous hearts, and not a little grieve the Spirit of God." "Blasphemers," he calls them, "a late fry of croaking frogs." "I cannot imagine why the Holy Ghost should give *Timothie* the solemnest charge, was ever given mortal man, to observe the Rules he had given, till the comming of Christ, if new things must be expected" (p. 19).

There is so much power in false doctrine, "that the least Error, if grown sturdy and pressed, shall set open the Spittle-doore of all the squint-ey'd, wry-necked, and brasen-faced Errors that are or ever were of that litter" (p. 21). It is impossible, he maintains, to allow all religions their liberty, and secure regular justice and moral honesty in one and the same jurisdiction, and he expresses this in another extraordinary declaration: "If the whole conclave of Hell can so compromise, exadverse, and diametricall contradictions, as to compolitize such multimonstrous maufrey of heteroclytes and quicquidlibets quietly; I trust I may say with all humble reverence, they can do more than the Senate of Heaven" (p. 22).

This is the climax of his argument for Intolerance, and he makes at this point a whimsical digression from the development of his theme to make an attack upon the undue regard of women for the latest fashion and men's wearing of long hair. Quoting a line from Horace, "What is to hinder one from telling the Truth laughingly?" he proceeds with bitter sarcasm to deride the "nugiperous" [light-minded] Gentledame, who inquires "what dresse the Queen is in this week: what the nudius tertian [day before yesterday] fashion of the Court; . . . I look at her as the very gizzard of a trifle, the product of a quarter of a cypher, the epitome of Nothing, fitter to be kickt, if she were of a kickable substance, than either honour'd or humour'd."

The ordinary resource of language fails him utterly and he betakes himself to a vocabulary of extraordinary violence. Their fashionable garb "transclouts them into gant-bar-geese, ill-shapen-shotten-shell-fish, Egyptian Hye-glyphicks" (p. 26). He is sick of seeing the "gut-foundred goosdom, wherewith they are now surcingled and debauched." He derides tailors for spending their lives "in making fidle-cases for futulous womens phansies: which are the very pettitoes of Infirmary, the giblets of

perquisquilian toyes'' (p. 27). With a parting gibe at these ''light-heel'd beagles that lead the chase so fast, that they run all civility out of breath, against these Ape-headed pullets, which invent Antique foole-fangles, meerly for fashion and novelty sake'' (p. 29), he devotes a few sentences to the enormous sin of men in wearing long hair, and then returns to the further discussion of the great questions of the time.

Four possible schemes of securing peace and harmony between King and people are discussed under the heads of Reformation, Composition, Cessation, Prosecution, and for the most part with dignity and moderation. He declares that he agrees neither with Presbyterian nor Independent nor Separatist, but advocates some middle course, that shall secure pure and undefiled religion. He calls for personal purity and sincerity in Christian living.

His discussion of the scheme of Composition, by which both *Majestas Imperii* and *Salus Populi* may be secured, leads him to some strong speech. ''No Prince exceeds in Sovereignty, but his Subjects will exceed as farre in some vitious Liberty, to abate their greife; or some pernicious mutiny, to abate their Prince'' (p. 48). His personal address to the King, with which this section closes, is respectful and even humble in its tone, but pointed and plain. Though he means ''to storme you with volyes of Love and Loyalty'' (p. 54), he asks leave ''to inquire of your Majesty, what you make in fields of blood, when you should be amidst your Parliament of peace: What you doe sculking in the suburbs of Hell, when your Royall Pallaces stand desolate, through your absence?'' (p. 55). He feels the critical condition of affairs, and implores the King to beware of pressing his subjects too hard. There is an unconscious prophecy of the end, we feel, in his warning words, ''your good Subjects are now rising into a resolution to pray you on to your Throne, or into your Tombe, into Grace with your Parliament and people, or into Glory with the Saints in Heaven'' (p. 63). Events had moved rapidly since those words were penned, and when *The Simple Cobler* appeared in print, the King was already a prisoner. ''It is now nine months and more since the last credible News was acted: it is possible by this the Parliament may be at the King's mercy.''

Two personal reminiscences afford an interesting digres-

sion. Prince Rupert, nephew of King Charles First, was in the field, the roystering leader of the cavalry. Somewhere on the Continent, Mr. Ward had met his mother, Elizabeth, daughter of James First and wife of the Elector of the Palatinate, and the little Rupert. "I have had him in my armes when he was younger, I wish I had him there now: if I mistake not, he promised then to be a good Prince, but I doubt he hath forgot it: if I thought he would not be angry with me, I would pray hard to his Maker, to make him a right Roundhead, a wise hearted Palatine, a thankfull man to the English; to forgive all his sinnes, and at length to save his soule, notwithstanding all his God-damne mee's: yet I may doe him wrong: I am not certaine hee useth that oath; I wish no man else would: I dare say the Devills dare not. I thank God I have lived in a Colony of many thousand English these twelve years, am held a very sociable man; yet I may considerately say, I never heard but one Oath sworne, nor ever saw one man drunk, nor ever heard of three women Adulteresses, in all this time, that I can call to minde" (pp. 64, 65).

Under the final division, Prosecution, he appeals to his countrymen to love Truth, and pursue it at any cost. Dropping his puns, he exhorts with stirring and sonorous words, "Goe on brave Englishmen, in the name of God, go on prosperously, because of Truth and Righteousness" (p. 73).

The thrilling eloquence of this prolonged appeal, the grandeur of its imagery, the loftiness of its tone, reveal the power of the author. The final passage, beginning "And Wee your Brethren, though we necessarily abide beyond *Jordan*, and remaine on the American Sea-coasts, will send up Armies of prayers to the Throne of Grace," is a noble climax and end (p. 75).

Several appendices of different sorts follow. In "A Word of Ireland" (p. 75) the author lapses into brutal ferocity of speech and purpose against "the truculent cut-throats." He heaps upon them the foulest epithets and prays that the expedition then being fitted out to avenge their murder of the English in 1641, may be undertaken "while the hearts and hands of our Souldiery are hot." "Cursed be he that holdeth back his Sword from blood," he cries. "Cursed be he that maketh not his Sword starke drunk with *Irish* blood, that doth not recompence them double for their hellish treachery to the *English*, that maketh them

not heaps upon heaps, and their country a dwelling place for Dragons, an Astonishment to Nations; Let not that eye look for pity, nor that hand to be spared, that pities or spares them, and let him be accursed that curseth not them bitterly" (p. 76).

A few more addresses, "half a dozen plaine honest Country Hobnailes," as he styles some verses which follow, and the "Errata at non Corrigenda," a burlesque upon the Errata with which books commonly ended, in his characteristic style, complete the work.

Judged by twentieth century standards, *The Simple Cobler* may be called a sad example of bigotry and pedantry, a senseless jargon of meaningless words, better forgotten than brought once more to remembrance. Yet to the thoughtful student of the Past, *The Cobler* is still a work of increasing value.

It was the product of the Puritan age, of which Carlyle wrote: "The Age of the Puritans is not extinct only and gone away from us but it is as if fallen beyond the capabilities of Memory herself; it is grown unintelligible, what we may call incredible. Its earnest Purport awakens now no resonance in our frivolous hearts. We understand not even in imagination, one of a thousand of us, what it ever could have meant. It seems delirious, delusive, the sound of it has become tedious as a tale of past stupidities."<sup>1</sup>

The age of the Puritans was one of great significance in the history of humanity, and *The Simple Cobler* opens to us an impressive picture of that time. Its literary style is illustrative of the period. The Puritan scholar had only his Bible and the classics. The drama was an abomination to him. Though Shakespeare had anticipated Mr. Ward more than twenty years, with his cobbler in the first act of *Julius Cæsar*, our Ipswich sage probably knew nothing of it. But Puritan learning was profound and exact, within its limit. The extraordinary fluency in apt and striking quotations from many classic authors reveals a thorough and loving acquaintance with the ancient masters of style. Indeed, our author is not content to quote his Bible and his classics. His vocabulary abounds in words that are Latin and Greek, under slight disguise. A Latin lexicon affords a better clew to his meaning than Webster's *Unabridged*. In *Mercurius Anti-Mechanicus*, a book often

<sup>1</sup> Oliver Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, 1: 15.



attributed to Mr. Ward, the writer observes, "The truth is I have been so much *habituated* and *half natured* into these Latins and Greeks, ere I was aware, that I neither can expell them, nor spell my own mother-tongue after my old fashion."<sup>1</sup> It was not intentional pedantry, we may well believe. Many words, also, have grown obsolete in the lapse of two centuries and a half, and obscurity has appeared where there was none.

Yet, in his own time, Mr. Ward's style was peculiar to himself in large degree. His love for eccentric and "new quodded words" makes his meaning often uncertain. His wearisome antitheses lead him to strange liberties with his mother tongue. His wit becomes forced, his puns are sometimes coarse and even vulgar. His metaphors defy all rules. In the same sentence the State is a tabernacle and a ship. "We hoise up sails" is followed by "to walk on by twilight." Nevertheless there is such piquancy and freshness, such fine sentiment, such tones of thunder, that many readers have found much to admire. Carlyle might have sat at his feet. Robert Southey, the Poet-Laureate, owned a copy of *The Simple Cobler*, marked throughout with marginal pencillings of the passages that appealed to him.<sup>2</sup> "The least Truth of Gods Kingdome, doth in its place, uphold the whole Kingdome of his Truths; take away the least *vericulum* out of the world, and it unworlds all, potentially, and may unravell the whole texture actually, if it be not conserved by an Arm of superiordinary power," is one passage thus designated (p. 21). Another was the noble sentence, worthy of Milton, it has been said, "*Non senescet veritas*, No man ever saw a gray haire on the head or beard of any Truth, wrinkle or morphew on its face: The bed of Truth is green all the yeare long" (p. 22).

The ungallant criticism by *The Cobler* of women's dress was only the echo of the common thought of the time. In 1634, and again in 1639, the Great and General Court condemned the wearing of laces and ribbons, ruffs and cuffs, and in 1651 it was enacted that no one whose estate did not exceed £200 should wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs. The wearing of long hair by men was likewise a matter of common grief to the godly minded.

<sup>1</sup> John Ward Dean, Rev. Nathaniel Ward, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> Duyckinck, *Cyclopædia of American Literature*, vol. 1: p. 24.

The sharp arraignment of tolerance was the common sentiment of New and Old England. Nathaniel Ward and his friends and neighbors, Gov. Dudley and John Norton, agreed well in this. Dudley wrote:

"Let men of God in courts and churches watch  
O'er such as do a toleration hatch,"

and Norton declared that for the putting down of error "the holy tactics of the civil sword should be employed."<sup>1</sup>

His fierce outburst against the Irish was in line with the preaching to which every Puritan congregation listened with delight. Thomas Hooker proclaimed to sinners:

"Judge the torments of hell by some little beginning of it, and the dregs of the Lord's vengeance by some little sips of it; and judge how unable thou art to bear the whole, by thy inability to bear a little of it. . . . When God lays the flashes of hell-fire upon thy soul, thou canst not endure it. . . . If the drops be so heavy, what will the whole sea of God's vengeance be?"<sup>2</sup>

Thomas Shepard of Cambridge described the condition of the sinner: "Thy mind is a nest of all the foul opinions, heresies, that ever were vented by any man; thy heart is a foul sink of all atheism, sodomy, blasphemy, murder, whoredom, adultery, witchcraft, buggery; so that if thou hast any good thing in thee, it is but as a drop of rose-water in a bowl of poison. . . . It is true thou feelest not all these things stirring in thee at one time . . . but they are in thee like a nest of snakes in a hedge."<sup>3</sup>

They exulted in the imprecatory Psalms, in the Mosaic Law, in the lake of everlasting torment. Their pulpits were begirt with thunderings and lightnings.

John Milton closed his second "Defence of the People of England" with the prayer: "look upon this thy poor and almost spent and expiring church; leave her not thus a prey to these importunate wolves, that wait and think it long, till they devour thy tender flock; those wild boars that have broken into thy vineyard, and left the print of their polluting hoofs, on the souls of thy servants. O, let them not bring about their damning designs, that stand now at the entrance of the bottomless pit, expecting the watch-word

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 108.

<sup>2</sup> M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 200.

<sup>3</sup> M. C. Tyler, *Hist. of Amer. Literature*, 1: 208.

to open and let out those dreadful locusts and scorpions, to reinvolve us in that pitchy cloud of infernal darkness, where we shall never more see the sun of thy truth again; never hope for the cheerful dawn; never more hear the bird of morning sing.”

Oliver Cromwell wrote his friend Col. Walton of the death of his oldest son on the battlefield: “There is your precious child full of glory, never to know sin or sorrow any more. . . . Before his death he was so full of comfort . . . he could not express it, ‘It was so great above his pain.’ A little after he said, One thing lay upon his spirit. I asked him, What that was? he told me it was, That God had not suffered him to be any more the executioner of His enemies.”<sup>1</sup>

In his letter from Dublin, Sept. 16, 1649, Cromwell wrote: “It hath pleased God to bless our endeavors at Drogheda.” He wrote more particularly the next day: “Divers of the Enemy retreated into the Mill Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access; being exceedingly high, having a good graft, and strongly pallisadoed.”

“The Governor, Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable Officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword. And indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in armes in the Town, and I think, that night, they put to the sword about 2000 men:—divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the Bridge into the other part of the Town, where about a hundred of them possessed St Peter’s Church-steeple, some the West Gate and others a strong Round Tower next the Gate called St. Sunday’s. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused. Whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter’s Church to be fired, when one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames ‘God damn me, God confound me; I burn, I burn.’”

“From one of the said Towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men. When they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head; and every tenth man of the soldiers killed; and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes.”

“I am persuaded that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood.”

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 196.

And he concludes this letter: "And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought. It was set upon some of our hearts, That a great thing should be done, not by power or might, but by the spirit of God. And is it not so clearly? That which caused your men to storm so courageously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage and took it away again; and gave the Enemy courage, and took it away again; and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success. And therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory."<sup>1</sup>

Such was the spirit and temper of the Puritanism of the seventeenth century, in New England and Old England, in the study of the scholar, in the pulpit of the preacher, on the battlefield, where Oliver and his Psalm singers, rising from their knees in prayer, slew their enemy without pity. The intolerance, the violence, the savageness of *The Simple Cobler* is made intelligible, in a degree, by such an agreement of men of godly mind in such speech and action.

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, 1: 462, 463

PUBLICATIONS OF THE IPSWICH  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
XIV.

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THE SIMPLE COBLER  
OF  
AGGAWAM

BY  
REV. NATHANIEL WARD

A REPRINT OF THE 4TH EDITION, PUBLISHED IN 1647, WITH FAC-SIMILES  
OF TITLE PAGE, PREFACE, AND HEAD-LINES, AND  
THE EXACT TEXT  
AND AN ESSAY

NATHANIEL WARD AND THE SIMPLE COBLER

BY  
THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS  
PRESIDENT OF THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 5, 1904.

Salem Press:  
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.  
1905

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING

DECEMBER 27, 1904.

Salem Press:  
THE SALEM PRESS CO., SALEM, MASS.

1905

## ANNUAL MEETING.

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The Annual Meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held December 5, 1904, at the House of the Society.

The following officers were elected.

*President.*—T. Frank Waters.

*Vice Presidents.*—John B. Brown,  
Francis R. Appleton.

*Directors.*—Charles A. Sayward,  
John H. Cogswell,  
John W. Nourse.

*Clerk.*—John W. Goodhue.

*Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.*—T. Frank Waters.

*Librarian.*—John J. Sullivan.

### SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. John J. Sullivan,	Miss Lucy Slade Lord,
Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Mrs. Edward F. Brown,	Mrs. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Cordelia Damon,	Mrs. Joseph F. Ross,
Miss Susan C. Whipple,	Mrs. Frank W. Kyes.

It was voted that the Social Committee be authorized to fill vacancies in its membership.

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT, DECEMBER 5, 1904.

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Our Society was organized on April 14, 1890, and as its fifteenth year is well advanced, a summary of the year may have especial interest. The Reports already read indicate a healthy and vigorous life. The Register of our House bears the names of 854 visitors, recorded during the year ending December 1st, 1904. It may occasion surprise that this is the smallest registration since the Society entered its present home, the lowest number recorded previously being 1008 in 1901. This decrease is not to be taken seriously, however. It is simply the result in part of that inevitable fluctuation in the tide of summer visitors, which is always to be reckoned on, and in part, as well, of certain easily discovered causes.

The total number of our Ipswich citizens registered is 41, while the number registered last year was 173. This discrepancy is due largely to the fact that in 1903, and for several years before, the Woman's Club gave a social, which was largely attended by its local members, whose names were duly recorded. This custom was not observed in 1904. A Midsummer Tea and other social functions found place in 1903, which were not attempted this year. There is evident, moreover, an increased disregard of the slight trouble of recording their names on the part of members who come to the House with friends. Naturally, too, the House has ceased to be a novelty, and the fee of twenty-five cents may debar our townfolk, who are not members, from frequent visits. We trust, however, there may be no diminution in the number of Ipswich visitors. We hope that members will exercise to the uttermost their privilege of bringing friends to the House, and that none will be sensitive in the matter of repeated visits.

As no registration is made on social occasions, which our citizens generally attend, many who are not members have an opportunity to see the House and taste its good cheer. We may well consider the desirability of increasing the number and variety of these special gatherings, which



appeal to many who are not interested especially in historical pursuits. Our Society is doing good service to the community when a supper is served, and the ancient rooms are filled by young and old from the representative families of our old town. The Woman's Club affords a common rallying ground for the women of the town. It remains for the Historical Society to do like service for the men and the families of the whole community. In this way, interest in the House and the Society will naturally be increased, a new pride in the rare and beautiful old building will be kindled and gradually our townfolk will come to feel that the Historical Society is a Town institution, wherein there are no lines of distinction, nor grades of privilege, and that its membership should include one representative at least of every Ipswich family. Our ideal of the Ipswich Historical Society will not be attained until this broad and comprehensive membership shall be reached, and our House shall be thronged with goodly numbers of Ipswich people, who will come, with their children and friends, to these ancient hearthstones, again and again.

It is gratifying in this connection to note that while the number of visitors from other states fell from 402 in 1903 to 306 in 1904, the number of residents of our own Commonwealth, outside of our town, increased from 403 to 502.

The courtesies of the House have been extended to the Convention of the Epworth League, April 19th; the Methuen Historical Society on July 13th; the Daughters of Rebecca on July 27th; the Art Class on August 8th; and the Hovey Family on August 24th. The Class in Architecture in the Institute of Technology with their instructor, Mr. Ross Turner, the eminent water-color artist, spent a whole day in the study of the House on October 15th.

The financial condition of the Society is very satisfactory. The receipts from the House, though less than last year for reasons already noted, have been sufficient to pay all the running expense, the insurance on the property, and a small balance toward the interest account. By the purchase of the remainder of the lot in which the House stands, the mortgage indebtedness was raised to \$3500, and the interest on the mortgage amounted to \$111.08, in 1903. Through the payment of the legacy bequeathed by Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown and the use of a small surplus, the mortgage has been reduced this year to \$2800, but the interest has made

large demands. One hundred and thirty-five dollars were required to meet this account. Fortunately another considerable reduction of the debt can be made on January 1st, and a corresponding reduction in the expense for interest in the coming year. The assured income from the constantly enlarging membership and the steady current of visitors will soon reduce our indebtedness to a comparatively small sum.

The hearty thanks of the Society are due Mr. and Mrs. Washington P. Pickard for their efficient and enthusiastic services as Curators. They have had a fine regard for the interests of the Society in admitting visitors at almost any hour, and have shown a commendable desire to make their visits interesting. The high reputation of the House as a clean and inviting dwelling has been well sustained. Mr. Pickard has had full charge of the grounds, and has kept them in excellent fashion. The modest charge he has made for these extra services has been well earned.

Our Publications have attained now to Number XIII. The title of the last issue was "Fine Thread, Lace and Hosiery in Ipswich by Jesse Fewkes, and Ipswich Mills and Factories by T. Frank Waters." It has been well received and a considerable number has been sold. Frequent requests for these pamphlets come from large libraries, notably from the Free Public Library of Birmingham, England, and from individuals who are interested in the Town of their forbears. Number X, "The Hotel Cluny of a New England Village," has been an exceptionally popular issue, and many copies are sold every year.

By the loan of our half-tone plate of the monument which stands before the Meeting House of the South Church, the Society has contributed aid to the publication by Miss Elizabeth Porter Gould, of Boston, of her admirable book "Ezekiel Cheever, Schoolmaster." Mr. Cheever gained high renown by his ten years' work as Master of the Ipswich Grammar School.

We may hope that a new era in the history of our Society has been marked by the election of two of our citizens to life membership, upon payment of fifty dollars each, and the payment of the first legacy the Society has received from the estate of a deceased member.

This new form of membership, hitherto held only by a lady of an old Ipswich family, by which all the privileges

and benefits of active membership are secured perpetually without further assessment, may thus be brought to the favorable notice of other friends of the Society. Such gifts are opportune and valuable. They increase our financial strength, rouse fresh confidence and encourage us to look forward to such a regular increase of resources that a larger work may be possible and wise.

The payment of the legacy may suggest to philanthropic friends of our Town, and of the Historical Society, a wise testamentary gift. Already generous provision has been made for our Public Library and for the Manning School. The Historical Society comes now to public notice as an institution, already beyond the stage when its permanence and usefulness may seriously be questioned. It is already in its fifteenth year, with a large and growing membership, a unique and valuable property, a sound financial condition, and a record of service to the community of which none need be ashamed. It is in a condition to receive and use a large endowment.

A Memorial building, of which frequent mention has already been made, would be a worthy monument to the men and women whose names are honored and loved, and would afford the opportunity for an enlargement of our collections and for a broadening of our scope of usefulness. Such a building would be a grand supplement to our ancient House. Upon its walls, without and within, might be carved the names of the wise and good of many generations. It would provide room for a large and well arranged historic museum, for the library, which is yet in embryo, of a special, historic character, and for a hall of moderate size, which would be of great value to the Town as well as to the Society. Through such a building, the noble history of our Town would make inspiring appeal to the present generation, and other generations that are to be. The erection of such a building and its endowment, would require less than the cost of a single beautiful residence of the kind which are now being reared in our midst. May not some generous lover of a noble ancestor, by a munificent gift, or a group of large-minded and far-sighted men and women by their bequests make this vision a thing of brick and stone, for beauty and for use, for education and inspiration?

REPORT OF THE CURATOR  
for the year ending December 1, 1904.

Total number of visitors registered,	- - - - -	854
Ipswich residents,	- - - - -	41
From other towns and cities in Massachusetts,	-	502
From outside the State,	- - - - -	311

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Total registration,	- - - - -	1899	1,134	
“	“	- - - - -	1900	1,513
“	“	- - - - -	1901	1,008
“	“	- - - - -	1902	1,052
“	“	- - - - -	1903	1,097

REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR  
ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1904.

*T. Frank Waters in account with Ipswich Historical Society.*

Dr.

Membership Fees, - - - - -	\$345.50
Legacy, Mrs. Elizabeth M. Brown, - - - - -	500.00
Receipts from the House,	
Door Fees, - - - - -	\$130.38
Sale of publications, - - - - -	26.50
" " pictures, - - - - -	24.85
" " stationery, - - - - -	1.46
Entertainment of Methuen Historical Society,	26.50
Supper, Nov. 30, 1904, - - - - -	32.40
	242.09
	242.09
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1903,	1087.59
	357.52
	\$1445.11

Cr.

Paid on Mortgage, - - - - -	\$700.00
" for Interest, - - - - -	135.00
" " Printing, - - - - -	127.62
" " Insurance, - - - - -	24.00
" " Stationery and postage, - - - - -	16.09
" " Incidentals, - - - - -	45.16
" " House account, running expenses,	
Fuel, - - - - -	50.66
Furniture, - - - - -	51.09
Repairs and care, - - - - -	59.33
Water, - - - - -	14.64
Photographs, two years, - - - - -	25.74
	201.46
Cash in treasury, - - - - -	195.78
	\$1445.11

The mortgage upon the property is now \$2800.

DONATIONS TO THE IPSWICH HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR ENDING  
DECEMBER 1, 1904.

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- AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY. Annual Report. Sermon on the Utility of a Permanent Ministry by David T. Kimball. Ipswich, 1839.
- BENJ. H. CONANT. Wenham Town Report.
- MISS ROXANA C. COWLES. Circular Leather Valise, owned and carried by her father, Prof. John P. Cowles, on his horseback journeys in Ohio, and his Leather Sermon Case. Two reels, one with clock attachment. Spinning wheel. Celestial globe, 1818, and terrestrial globe, owned and used by Miss Zilpah P. Grant, purchased by Prof. Cowles. Pencil Drawings of County House and Kimball Manse. Two guns, one with flint lock. Cartridge-box. Tin kitchen. Toaster. Gridiron.
- DUMMER ACADEMY. Catalogue.
- ESSEX INSTITUTE, Salem. Publications.
- MRS. JONATHAN E. GOODHUE, Newark, N. Y. The Goodhue Family.
- JAMES GRIFFIN. Wasps' nest.
- D. R. JACK, St. John, N. B. Publications of the New Brunswick Historical Society. No. 5. *Acadiensis*. iv, 2, 3, 4.
- MEDFORD HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications.
- MISS ESTHER PARMENTER. Epaulet, worn by an ancestor in the war of 1812. Three chairs and a footstool made by her step-father's grandfather.
- B. F. SOUTHWICK, Peabody. Set of Province Laws.
- JULIA NOYES STICKNEY, West Newbury. Poem on Lake Winnepisaukee.
- TOWLE MANUFACTURING Co. Outline of Life and Works of Col. Paul Revere.
- FRANCIS H. WADE. Morse's Universal Geography.

Membership in the Ipswich Historical Society involves the payment of an annual due of \$2, or a single payment of \$50, which secures Life Membership. Members are entitled to a copy of the regular publications of the Society, in pamphlet form, without expense, free admission to the House with friends, and the privilege of voting in the business meetings.

There are no restrictions as to place of residence. Any person, who is interested in the Society and desires to promote its welfare, is eligible to membership. We desire to enlarge the non-resident membership list until it shall include as many as possible of those, who trace their descent to our Town.

Names may be sent at any time to the President, but the election of members usually occurs only at the annual meeting in December.

## ANNUAL MEETING.

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The Annual meeting of the Ipswich Historical Society was held on Monday, December 4, 1905, at Whipple House.

The following officers were elected.

*President.*—T. Frank Waters.

*Vice Presidents.*—John B. Brown,  
Francis R. Appleton.

*Directors.*—Charles A. Sayward,  
John H. Cogswell,  
John W. Nourse.

*Clerk.*—John W. Goodhue.

*Corresponding Secretary and Treasurer.*—T. Frank Waters.

*Librarian.*—John J. Sullivan.

### SOCIAL COMMITTEE.

Mrs. John J. Sullivan,	Miss Lucy Slade Lord,
Mrs. Chas. A. Sayward,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
Mrs. Edward F. Brown,	Mrs. Frank H. Stockwell,
Mrs. Cordelia Damon,	Mrs. Joseph F. Ross,
Miss Susan C. Whipple,	Mrs. Frank W. Kyes.

The Committee was authorized to fill any vacancies that may occur in its membership, and enlarge it, if occasion requires.



## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT FOR THE YEAR ENDING DEC. 1, 1905.

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Our survey of the past year reveals stable and gratifying prosperity, as the good fortune of our Society. The list of members shows a steady gain, and every year more of our townfolk, of the summer residents, and of non-residents, who have an ancestral connection with our town, are enrolled. Thus our Society serves as a bond of union between the friends of Ipswich, wherever they are found.

The Report of the Curator shows that the registered number of visitors at Whipple House has again passed the thousand mark. As was remarked in the last Annual Report a surprisingly small number of our townspeople, though they are members of the Society, seem willing to record their names. Only seventy-three were registered last year, but our Curator reports that many more have called. Though it is a matter of regret, that we may not know how many of our citizens show their interest in the House by coming with their friends, it is gratifying that so large a number of visitors, who inspected these rooms during the year were from other towns and cities of the Commonwealth and nearly four hundred from other States. Thus the good name of the Society and its House is spread abroad, and it frequently happens, in my own experience and no doubt in yours, that in the most unexpected places chance acquaintances are met, who dilate with enthusiasm upon their visit to this ancient dwelling. As in other years, societies of various kinds seeking the most inviting locality possible for a summer holiday have bethought themselves of Ipswich. The Boston Tea Party Chapter and the Old Newbury Chapter of the D. A. R. rallied here on June 9, and the State Chapter on June 28. The Hovey Family held its annual reunion, and the Art Class of Mr. Dow gathered en masse for an evening lecture, by the President by candlelight in the quaint old rooms. A goodly number of the members of the Gloucester Scientific and Historical Society came on a bright August day, and in September some

good women of Marblehead, of Unity Rebekah Lodge, and the Holmes Outing Club of Haverhill drifted hither.

The newly organized society for lace-working met during the early summer months in the airy bed-chamber, and an elaborate and beautiful display of laces was made in the exhibition and sale arranged by them in these rooms.

Financially we stand well with the world. The single item of membership fees netted \$480, and the receipts from the House from door fees, sales of publications and the entertainment of visiting societies amounted to \$205.75. Early last spring the Ipswich Mills Corporation bought the Peatfield estate adjoining our property and established a lumber yard. The Superintendent very courteously authorized me to proceed with any scheme of shrubbery or ornamental gardening that might seem advisable to take off the rawness of the lumber piles. A spruce hedge seemed the best screen, and the trees were purchased and set out. When they were delivered, their appearance was not prepossessing and though carefully planted, all but six died.

This account has not been settled, and the sum paid by the Mills remains in the treasury, except that which was paid for the tree setting.

The expenditures included a payment of \$300 on the mortgage, reducing it to \$2500, and \$106.33 for interest. The receipts from the House furnished a surplus of nearly \$40, after all expenses incident to the House and grounds were met. A balance of \$290.60 remains in the treasury.

It will be noticed that no expense for printing has been incurred this year. The demands upon my time by the book, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, which was issued in September, were so great in the early months of the year, that no attention could be given to the usual publication. At a later time, the manuscript was prepared and sent to the printer, with the expectation of distributing it in November. Unavoidable delays arose, however, and now it seems best to issue the pamphlet at once, with the proceedings of this meeting appended.

It may be a fortunate way of meeting the expense of a rather costly publication by dividing it thus between two years. This work which is nearly complete is a reprint of "The Simple Cobbler of Aggawam" by our famous minister, Nathaniel Ward. The late D. F. Appleton Esq.

gave the Society a copy of the 4<sup>th</sup> edition, printed in London in 1647. Facsimiles have been made of the title-page, preface, head-lines and ornamental initials, the antique form of the letter s has been used, the exact spelling, punctuation and page division has been followed, and a very near approach has been made to a reproduction. An Essay on Nathaniel Ward and The Simple Cobler has been appended. A portion of the edition will be issued in the usual form but a considerable number of copies will be bound in book form, in the hope that book-lovers may esteem it a volume worth purchasing.

Though the recently issued, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony bears the imprint of the Ipswich Historical Society, the Society has been involved in no expense in its publication, and has gained prestige as a publisher of historical works.

The principal addition to our furnishings is an ancient desk, which was put in perfect condition, and presented by Mr. Francis R. Appleton. The Secretary of the Commonwealth, with the co-operation of Mr. Tillinghast, the State Librarian, has very kindly presented the Society a full set of the Vital Statistics so far as published, and the new issues are sent as they appear. The very valuable Record of the Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolution, which is given by the State, is approaching completion.

Very recently, the Librarian of the State Library of Connecticut, Mr. George S. Godard, made a request for a file of our publications, and in return, has sent nineteen volumes of the State Manual, from 1887 to 1905, with the very kindly remark that "Ipswich has a tender place in the hearts of Connecticut people," because of its gift of John Winthrop Jr.

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The thanks of the Society are due Mr. and Mrs. Pickard for their regard for the interests of the Society and the good name of the House. Visitors always find a cordial welcome. House and grounds are always well kept and inviting.

## REPORT OF THE CURATOR

During the year, December 1, 1904 to December 1, 1905, 1041 names of visitors have been registered.

73 were residents of Ipswich.

594 were residents of other towns and cities in Massachusetts.

376 were residents of other States.

June 9, The Boston Tea Party Chapter, and The Old Newbury Chapter, D. A. R. visited the house.

June 28, The State Chapter of D. A. R.

August 1, The Hovey Family held its reunion at the house.

August 2, The Gloucester Historical Society.

August 7, The Art Class of Prof. A. W. Dow.

Sept. 13, Unity Rebekah Lodge, I. O. O. F. of Marblehead.

Sept. 18, The Holmes Outing Club of Haverhill.

WASHINGTON P. PICKARD,  
Curator.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE IPSWICH  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY, FOR THE YEAR  
ENDING DECEMBER 1, 1905.

*T. F. Waters in account with the Ipswich Historical Society.*

Dr.			
To Membership fees,		\$480.00	
" Contribution from Ipswich Mills, for shrubbery,		31.50	
" Receipts from Whipple House,			
Door Fees,	\$134.20		
Sale of Publications,	31.85		
" " Pictures,	16.50		
" " Stationery,	1.20		
Entertainment of the Boston Tea Party Chapter, D. A. R.,	12.00		
Entertainment of the Gloucester Historical Society,	10.00	205.75	205.75
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		205.75	717.25
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1904,			208.59
			<hr/>
			\$925.84
Cr.			
Paid on Mortgage,		\$300.00	
" for Interest,		106.33	
" " Stationery and expressage,		13.35	
" " Books,		7.00	
" " Incidentals,		41.31	
" " House account,			
Fuel,	26.82		
Table ware,	16.00		
Water bills,	14.55		
Furniture,	9.30		
Hardware,	7.77		
Supper notices, etc.,	5.50		
Pictures,	17.45		
Setting shrubbery,	9.00		
Repairs and care of house and grounds,	60.86	167.25	167.25
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		167.25	635.24
Balance in treasury, Dec. 1, 1905,			290.60
			<hr/>
			\$925.84

The mortgage is now \$2500.

## MEMBERS.

### LIFE MEMBERS.

Mrs. Alice C. Bemis	. . . . .	Colorado Springs, Col.
James H. Proctor	. . . . .	Ipswich, Mass.
Charles G. Rice	. . . . .	“ “

### RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Dr. Charles E. Ames,	Theodore F. Cogswell,
Mrs. Susan A. R. Appleton,	Miss Harriet D. Condon,
Francis R. Appleton,	Brainerd J. Conley,
Mrs. Frances L. Appleton,	Rev. Edward Constant,
James W. Appleton,	Miss Roxana C. Cowles,
Randolph M. Appleton,	Rev. Temple Cutler,
Miss S. Isabel Arthur,	Arthur C. Damon,
Dr. G. Guy Bailey,	Mrs. Carrie Damon,
Mrs. Elizabeth H. Baker,	Mrs. Cordelia Damon,
Mrs. Ellen B. Baker,	Everett G. Damon,
John H. Baker,	Harry K. Damon,
Miss Katharine C. Baker,	Mrs. Abby Danforth,
Charles W. Bamford,	Miss Edith L. Daniels,
George E. Barnard,	Mrs. Howard Dawson,
Miss Mary D. Bates,	George G. Dexter,
John A. Blake,	Miss C. Bertha Dobson,
James W. Bond,	Harry K. Dodge,
Warren Boynton,	Rev. John M. Donovan,
Albert S. Brown,	Mrs. Sarah B. Dudley,
Albert S. Brown, Jr.,	Mrs. Charles G. Dyer,
Miss Annie Gertrude Brown,	Miss Emeline C. Farley,
Charles W. Brown,	Mrs. Emma Farley,
Edward F. Brown,	Miss Lucy R. Farley,
Mrs. Carrie R. Brown,	Miss Abbie M. Fellows,
Henry Brown,	Benjamin Fewkes,
Mrs. Lavinia A. Brown,	James E. Gallagher,
Robert Brown,	John S. Glover,
Ralph W. Burnham,	Charles E. Goodhue,
Mrs. Nellie Mae Burnham,	Frank T. Goodhue,
Fred F. Byron,	John W. Goodhue,
Miss Joanna Caldwell,	William Goodhue,
Miss Lydia A. Caldwell,	John J. Gould,
Miss Sarah P. Caldwell,	David A. Grady,
Charles A. Campbell,	James Graftum,
Mrs. Lavinia Campbell,	Mrs. Eliza H. Green,
Edward W. Choate,	Mrs. Lois H. Hardy,
Philip E. Clarke,	George Harris,
Mrs. Mary E. Clarke,	Mrs. Kate L. Haskell,
Miss Lucy C. Coburn,	George H. W. Hayes,
Sturgis Coffin, 2d,	Mrs. Alice L. Heard,
John H. Cogswell,	Miss Alice Heard,

John Heard,  
 Miss Mary A. Hodgdon,  
 Mrs. Louise S. Hodgkins,  
 Miss S. Louise Holmes,  
 Charles G. Hull,  
 Miss Lucy S. Jewett,  
 Miss Amy M. Johnson,  
 Miss Ida B. Johnson,  
 John A. Johnson,  
 Miss Ellen M. Jordan,  
 Albert Joyce,  
 Charles M. Kelly,  
 Mrs. Caroline Kenyon,  
 Fred A. Kimball,  
 Robert S. Kimball,  
 Mrs. Isabelle G. Kimball,  
 Miss Bethiah D. Kinsman,  
 Miss Mary E. Kinsman,  
 Mrs. Susan K. Kinsman,  
 Dr. Frank W. Kyes,  
 Mrs. Georgie C. Kyes,  
 Curtis E. Lakeman,  
 J. Howard Lakeman,  
 Mrs. G. F. Langdon,  
 Austin L. Lord,  
 George A. Lord,  
 Dr. Sidney A. Lord,  
 Miss Lucy Slade Lord,  
 Thomas H. Lord,  
 Mrs. Lucretia S. Lord,  
 Walter E. Lord,  
 Mrs. Mary B. Main,  
 James F. Mann,  
 Joseph Marshall,  
 Everard H. Martin,  
 Mrs. Marietta K. Martin,  
 Miss Abby L. Newman,  
 Mrs. Amanda K. Nichols,  
 William J. Norwood,  
 Mrs. Elizabeth B. Norwood,  
 John W. Nourse,  
 Charles H. Noyes,  
 Mrs. Harriet E. Noyes,  
 Rev. Reginald Pearce,  
 I. E. B. Perkins,  
 Miss Carrie S. Perley,

Augustine H. Plouff,  
 Mrs. Frances Richardson,  
 James S. Robinson, Jr.,  
 Mrs. Anna C. C. Robinson,  
 Miss Anna W. Ross,  
 Frederick G. Ross,  
 Mrs. Mary F. Ross,  
 Joseph F. Ross,  
 Mrs. Helene Ross,  
 Dr. William H. Russell,  
 William S. Russell,  
 William W. Russell,  
 Daniel Safford,  
 Angus Savory,  
 Charles A. Sayward,  
 Mrs. Henrietta W. Sayward,  
 George A. Schofield,  
 Amos E. Scotton,  
 Nathaniel Shatswell,  
 Mrs. Harriet G. Shaw,  
 Dexter M. Smith,  
 Mrs. Olive P. Smith,  
 Mrs. Elizabeth K. Spaulding,  
 George W. Starkey,  
 Dr. Frank H. Stockwell,  
 Mrs. Sadie B. Stockwell,  
 Miss Lucy Belle Story,  
 Edward M. Sullivan,  
 John J. Sullivan,  
 Mrs. Elizabeth M. Sullivan,  
 Arthur L. Sweetser,  
 Samuel H. Thurston,  
 George W. Tozer,  
 Miss Ellen R. Trask,  
 Jesse H. Wade,  
 Miss Nellie F. Wade,  
 Miss Emma E. Wait,  
 Luther Wait,  
 Rev. T. Frank Waters,  
 Mrs. Adeline M. Waters,  
 Miss Susan C. Whipple,  
 Frederick G. Whittier,  
 Mrs. Marianna Whittier,  
 Miss Eva Adams Willcomb,  
 Chester P. Woodbury.

## NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Frederick J. Alley . . . . .	Hamilton, Mass.
Mrs. Mary G. Alley . . . . .	" "
William F. J. Boardman . . . . .	Hartford, Conn.
Albert D. Bosson* . . . . .	Chelsea, Mass.
Mrs. Alice C. Bosson* . . . . .	" "
Mrs. Mary P. Bosworth . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
John B. Brown* . . . . .	Chicago, Ill.
Mrs. Lucy T. Brown* . . . . .	" "

\*Summer home in Ipswich.

Frank T. Burnham . . . . .	So. Framingham, Mass.
Rev. Augustine Caldwell . . . . .	Ellot, Me.
Eben Caldwell . . . . .	Elizabeth, N. J.
Miss Florence F. Caldwell . . . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Luther Caldwell . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
Miss Mira E. Caldwell . . . . .	" "
Rufus Choate . . . . .	Essex, Mass.
Alexander B. Clark . . . . .	Peabody, Mass.
Mrs. Edward Cordis . . . . .	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Dr. Richard H. Derby . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Joseph D. Dodge . . . . .	Lynn, Mass.
Mrs. Edith S. Dole . . . . .	Newbury, Mass.
Arthur W. Dow* . . . . .	Brooklyn, N. Y.
Joseph K. Farley . . . . .	Lihue, Kauai, Hawaiian Islands.
Sylvanus C. Farley . . . . .	Alton, Ill.
Edward B. George . . . . .	Rowley, Mass.
Dr. J. L. Goodale* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Dr. E. S. Goodhue . . . . .	Wailuku, Maui, Hawaiian Islands.
Samuel V. Goodhue . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
Dr. F. B. Harrington* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Rev. Horace C. Hovey . . . . .	Newburyport, Mass.
Miss Ruth A. Hovey . . . . .	Lake Mohonk, N. Y.
Gerald L. Hoyt* . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. May Hoyt* . . . . .	" " "
Miss Julia Hoyt* . . . . .	" " "
Lydig Hoyt* . . . . .	" " "
Albert P. Jordan . . . . .	Fresno, Cal.
Arthur S. Kimball . . . . .	Oberlin, Ohio.
Rev. John C. Kimball . . . . .	Greenfield, Mass.
Rev. Frederic J. Kinsman . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary A. Lord* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Frances E. Markoe . . . . .	Philadelphia, Pa.
Mrs. Anna Osgood* . . . . .	Orange, N. J.
Rev. Robert B. Parker* . . . . .	Providence, R. I.
Moritz B. Philipp* . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Bowen W. Pierson . . . . .	" " "
Frederick H. Plouff . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Jessie W. P. Purdy . . . . .	Reading, Penn.
A. Davidson Remick . . . . .	" "
James E. Richardson . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
Dr. Mark W. Richardson* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Mrs. Lucy C. Roberts . . . . .	Cambridge, Mass.
John B. Shearer . . . . .	Byfield, Mass.
Mrs. E. M. H. Slade . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Edward A. Smith . . . . .	Salem, Mass.
Miss Elizabeth P. Smith . . . . .	" "
Henry P. Smith . . . . .	Brookline, Mass.
Mrs. Caroline P. Smith . . . . .	" "
Rev. R. Cotton Smith* . . . . .	Washington, D. C.
Dr. E. W. Taylor* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Rev. William G. Thayer* . . . . .	Southboro, Mass.
Andrew S. Thomson, . . . . .	Wenham, Mass.
Dr. Harvey P. Towle* . . . . .	Boston, Mass.
Dr. Chas. W. Townsend* . . . . .	" "
Miss Ann H. Treadwell . . . . .	Jamaica Plain, Mass.
Bayard Tuckerman* . . . . .	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Ruth A. Tuckerman* . . . . .	" " "
Charles H. Tweed . . . . .	" " "



## HONORARY MEMBERS.

125

## NON-RESIDENT MEMBERS.

Miss Laura B. Underhill*	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Margaret Wade	Newton, Mass.
Wallace P. Willett*	East Orange, N. J.
Mrs. Elizabeth Willett*	" " "
Frederic Winthrop	Hamilton, Mass.
Robert D. Winthrop	New York, N. Y.
Chalmers Wood*	" " "

## HONORARY MEMBERS.

John Albee, Jr.	Swampscott, Mass.
Miss Caroline Farley	Cambridge, Mass.
Frank C. Farley	So. Manchester, Conn.
Mrs. Katherine S. Farley	" " "
Mrs. Eunice W. Felton	Cambridge, Mass.
Jesse Fewkes	Newton, Mass.
Reginald Foster	Boston, Mass.
Augustus P. Gardner	Hamilton, Mass.
Charles L. Goodhue	Springfield, Mass.
Miss Alice A. Gray	Sauquoit, N. Y.
Miss Emily R. Gray	" " "
Arthur W. Hale	Winchester, Mass.
Albert Farley Heard, 2d	Boston, Mass.
Otis Kimball	" " "
Mrs. Otis Kimball	" " "
Miss Sarah S. Kimball	Salem, Mass.
Frederick J. Kingsbury	Waterbury, Conn.
Miss Caroline T. Leeds	Boston, Mass.
Miss Katherine P. Loring	" " "
Mrs. Susan M. Loring	" " "
Mrs. Elizabeth R. Lyman	Brookline, Mass.
Josiah H. Mann	Ipswich, Mass.
Miss Adeline E. Manning	Boston, Mass.
Henry S. Manning	New York, N. Y.
Mrs. Mary W. Manning	" " "
George von L. Meyer	St. Petersburg, Russia.
Miss Esther Parmenter	Chicopee, Mass.
Mrs. Mary S. C. Peabody	Ipswich, Mass.
Richard M. Saltonstall	Boston, Mass.
Denison R. Slade	Center Harbor, N. H.
Joseph Spiller	Boston, Mass.
Miss Ellen A. Stone	East Lexington, Mass.
Harry W. Tyler	Boston, Mass.
Albert Wade	Alton, Ill.
Edward P. Wade	" " "
W. F. Warner	St. Louis, Mo.
George Willcomb	Boston, Mass.

\*Summer home in Ipswich.



# IPSWICH IN THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY COLONY

1633-1700

BY THOMAS FRANKLIN WATERS

*President of the Ipswich Historical Society*

ONE VOLUME IN TWO PARTS

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## PART ONE

I	Primeval Agawam, a study of the Indian life . . . . .	pp. 1-6
II	The Coming of the English . . . . .	7-20
III	Homes and Dress . . . . .	21-44
IV	Some notable Settlers. John Winthrop, Jr., Thomas Dudley, Richard Saltonstall, Simon and Ann Bradstreet, Rev. Nathaniel Ward, John Norton . . . . .	45-55
V	The Development of our Town Government . . . . .	56-67
VI	Common Lands and Commonage . . . . .	68-74
VII	Trades and Employments . . . . .	75-86
VIII	The Body Politic . . . . .	87-106
IX	The Sabbath and the Meeting House . . . . .	107-118
X	The Early Military Annals . . . . .	119-127
XI	The Charter in Peril. Samuel Symonds, Daniel Denison, John Appleton . . . . .	128-145
XII	The Grammar School and Harvard College. Ezekiel Cheever and his successors, and many famous pupils of the Grammar School . . . . .	146-158
XIII	King Philip's War; contains Major Samuel Appleton's military letters and a complete list of the soldiers in that war . . . . .	159-224
XIV	Ipswich and the Andros Government. A careful study of the attitude of Ipswich men in this critical period, with many documents, warrants for arrest, depositions, records, etc. Rev. John Wise, Major Samuel Appleton, John Appleton, Jr., Thomas French, William Goodhue, John Andrews, Robert Kinsman . . . . .	225-273
XV	Laws and Courts . . . . .	274-286
XVI	Witchcraft . . . . .	287-300
XVII	War of William and Mary and other Indian troubles, with a list of soldiers so far as known . . . . .	301-313

The material for this work has been derived, by original research, chiefly from the Town Records, the Records of the old Ipswich Quarter Sessions Court and other Court Records, the Massachusetts Bay Records, the Massachusetts Archives, and contemporaneous published works, so far as possible. It is illustrated with facsimiles of ancient documents and photographs.

## PART TWO

is a study of the original land grants for house lots on all the ancient streets and lanes, and the successive owners to the present generation, with diagrams, maps, and photographs of many ancient dwellings.

The dates of the erection of houses are noted in many instances, and all transfers are accompanied with citations of the Book and Leaf of the ancient Ipswich Deeds (5 volumes), and the Records of the Essex County Registry of Deeds and Registry of Probate. Some eighteen hundred citations are made from the original sources, and these constitute the sole authority for this record of locations, ownerships, and the probable age and identity of dwellings.

Besides this, there are seven appendices to the volume, giving important historical material under the following heads: A summary of the names of the first settlers from 1633 to 1649; Some Early Inventories; The Letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward; The Letters of Giles Firmin; The Letters of Samuel Symonds; The Valedictory and Monitory Writing left by Sarah Goodhue; The Diary of Rev. John Wise, Chaplain in the Expedition to Quebec. There is also a copious Index.

The book will be of particular interest and importance to those who are of Ipswich ancestry, but all who dwell in Ipswich, or make their summer homes there, will find it a readable and attractive record of many events, places, and persons.

## EXTRACTS FROM REVIEWS AND LETTERS.

(By Bayard Tuckerman, Lecturer in English at Princeton University).

Ipswich is one of the oldest and in some respects one of the most interesting and typical of the English settlements in America. The difficulties to be encountered by the early colonists in subduing the wilderness, in wringing a livelihood from an unfruitful soil, in building up a civilization in which comfort and education were sought together, were nowhere greater and nowhere surmounted with more courageous energy. The institution of town government and the intelligent practice of the principles of political liberty are well exemplified in the history of Ipswich, while the bold resistance of her citizens to the tyranny of the English government in the time of Governor Andros has given her a claim to the title of the "Cradle of American Liberty" Mr. Waters has told this story with historical insight and literary skill, and has given us besides a mass of information regarding local customs, transfers of land and resident families, which make his work of personal interest to everyone whose ancestors have lived in the township.

As we turn the leaves of this scholarly work, the chapter headings indicate a variety of interesting subjects. Political history is studied under "The Development of our Town Government" "The Body Politic" "The Charter in Peril" "Ipswich and the Andros Government." Under the heads of "The Coming of the English" "Homes and Dress" "Some Notable Settlers" "Trades and Employments," we find a rich fund of information regarding the early inhabitants and the lives they led. In the chapter dealing with "The Sabbath and the Meeting House" with the melancholy accompaniment of "Witchcraft," the austere religious life of the early times is depicted. The relations of the settlers to the Indians are described under "Primeval Agawam" "King Philip's War" and the "War of William and Mary." The determination of the colonists to provide education for their children is shown in the article on "The Grammar School and Harvard College." Other interesting chapters deal with the "Laws and Courts" and with the curious institution of the "Common Lands and Commonage."

The second portion of the work contains an account of the ownership and transfer of lands and houses which is the fruit of research, of remarkable industry and accuracy. No one whose family has owned property within the bounds of Ipswich can fail to find facts of interest to him here. The names of early settlers are given in full and there are a number of inventories illustrative of the character of personal property held and transmitted. The letters of Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Dr. Giles Firmin, and of Samuel Symonds, the writings of Sarah Goodhue, and the narrative of the Rev. John Wise, all of great antiquarian interest, are given in the Appendix.

Thirty-five excellent illustrations, and an Index which forms a complete guide to all the names and subjects mentioned, add greatly to the value of the work.

This history of Ipswich is the result of such painstaking and intelligent research, and is written in so attractive a style, that it cannot fail to appeal to all persons who have any connection with the town. Whoever lives in Ipswich or whose ancestors lived here, should have a copy among his books. He will find pleasure in reading it, and profit in possessing it for reference.

BAYARD TUCKERMAN.

*(From the Boston Transcript.)*

A most important addition to the literature of New England history is made by Mr. Thomas Franklin Waters in this volume. Ipswich — the Agawam of 270 years ago — is one of the most picturesque towns in the Commonwealth, and aside from its attractions of location and scenery, is particularly rich in historical associations. No town in its early conditions more accurately typifies early New England life, and in the narrative of its struggles and development may be read that of a score of other settlements of the same period. "I have tried," says Mr. Waters in his preface, "to tell accurately, but in readable fashion, the story of the builders of our town, their homes and home life, their employments, their Sabbath-keeping, their love of learning, their administration of town affairs, their stern delusions, their heroism in war and in resistance to tyranny." To anyone familiar with the beautiful old town the book will have all the fascination of a romance.

*(From a Review by the New York Daily Tribune.)*

The president of the Ipswich Historical Society has prepared in this volume a model of its kind. He tells in thoroughly entertaining fashion the history of this early Colonial town — the Agawam of Indians — and he adds in Part II such a detailed account of its houses and lands as must ever be of value to all connected by ties of blood or property with Ipswich. Photographs of the many ancient houses which survive, together with maps, diagrams and facsimiles illustrate and elucidate the text.

The story of the town holds so much of the struggle, the tragedy and the quaintness of seventeenth century life in the colony that it would have been difficult to make it other than interesting.

The services of Ipswich men in King Philip's War and their sturdy protest against the usurpation of the Andros government are chronicled here, and are not to be forgotten by Americans. In the resistance to what she considered an unjust tax, Ipswich may claim a high place among the earliest supporters of the right of self government.

*(From a letter, written by C. B. Tillinghast, State Librarian of Massachusetts.)*

"The story of the founders of Ipswich which you have told with so much detail and skill in the first half of the volume, is of course in large

degree the story of the early life of the settlers in other parts of the Colony and this study, which you have founded with such pains-taking accuracy largely upon original and documentary sources of information makes the volume of the widest general interest to all, who have an interest in the early settlers and their mode of life. This feature of the book it seems to me, is unequalled by any other available publication and should commend it to the favorable attention of all libraries.

The topographical study which forms the latter portion of the book, is a model of what such a study should be, and in this respect, Ipswich territory is of special interest.

“You have made in this volume a contribution to the local, the fundamental history of the Commonwealth, which few, if any volumes equal and none excel.”

*(From George H. Martin, Secretary of the State Board of Education of Massachusetts.)*

I have examined with care the whole of your new book on Ipswich, and I have read with increasing interest as much as time would allow. It is a great book and will prove of immense service to all students of early colonial history.

I do not think I have found anywhere so vivid a picture presented of Puritan town life in all its phases as you have given. The thorough way in which you have handled the matter of land grants is a model for all local historians.

I congratulate you heartily upon having made an addition to the local history of New England, which is unsurpassed in the choice of matter, and in the felicity of its presentation.

*(From The Nation, New York.)*

In one feature, at least, this ample and handsomely printed work surpasses any other town history that we have ever encountered. We refer to that portion of the second half which deals with “Houses and Lands,” and which, with the aid of a diagram, traces the fortunes of each dwelling and lot of the original settler *nominatim* not only to 1700, but to the present day. This enormous labor is fortified by the citation of wills and deeds, and the result is a firm base for all future researches. It is supplemented by a summary of the names of the settlers from 1633 to 1649, with the year in which each name first occurs in the town records, and by some sample inventories of personal effects. Other remarkable lists of the early inhabitants have been constructed for the chapter entitled “The Body Politic;” and show that out of an enrolled male population in 1678 totalling 508, there were 220 commoners and 125 freemen (17 of these not being commoners). The freemen alone were entitled to vote for the officers and magistrates of

the Colony and to speak and vote in town meeting; the commoners might vote on all questions relating to the common lands; the residue, so-called Resident, were eligible for jury duty and to vote for selectmen.

Mr. Waters's historical treatment is episodal and is very pleasingly manifested in the opening chapters on the aborigines as described by the first Englishmen and on home and dress. These themes are invested with a really fresh interest, and set forth with noticeable literary skill.

Much remains to be said or sayable, but we must stay our hand. Mr. Waters's work, which we hope he will follow up for later times, as he half promises, takes its place in the front rank of its class, and can hardly be praised too highly for diligent research, candor, taste, style and construction.

It will be found to be of particular value to the New England families bearing the names of

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and many others.

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